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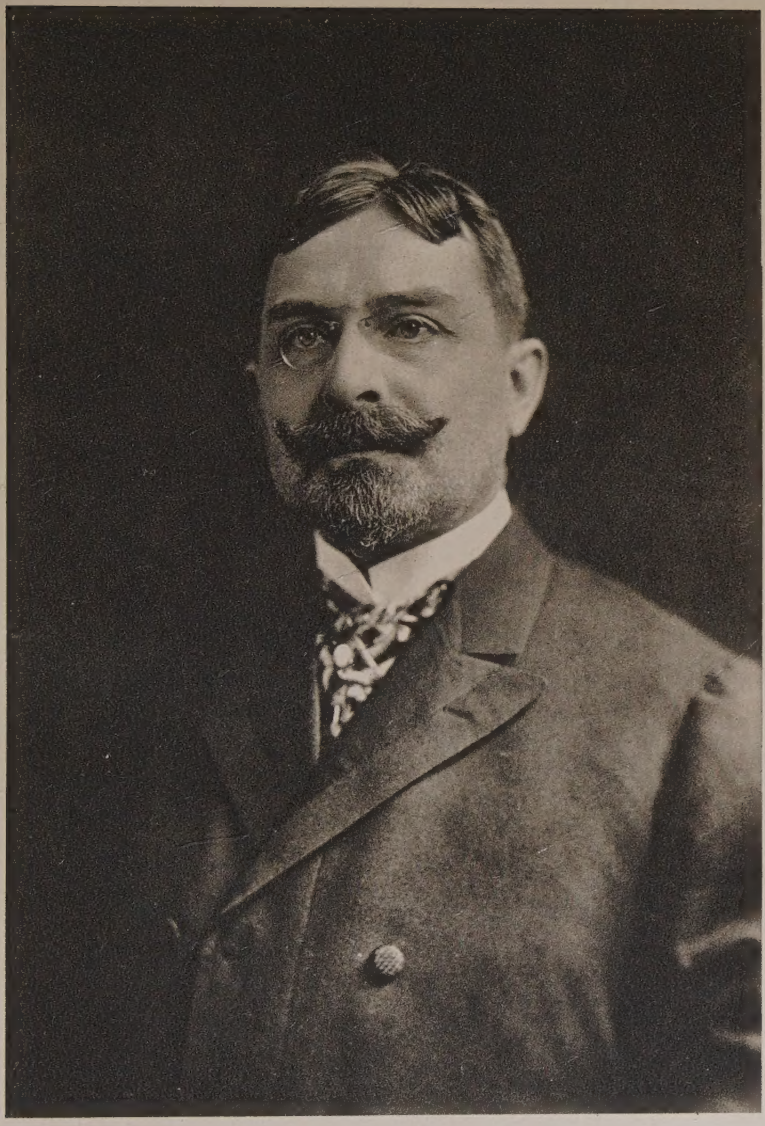

Frank Tucker

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OF

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

AT THE

FORTIETH ANNUAL SESSION

HELD IN

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

JULY 5-12, 1913

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PREFACE

The National Conference went this year for the third time to the Pacific Coast. In 1889 about ninety people from the eastern and middle states crossed the Rocky Mountains and were met by about twice their number in San Francisco. Sixteen years later more than three times as many pilgrims traveled over the plains and were joined by a handful from among the mountains, but when they reached Portland, owing to the distractions of a great exposition, comparatively few of the residents of Oregon met with them. After another interval, this time only half as long, the Conference went to the far west for the third time. Of the total of eight hundred and odd registered delegates at Seattle, about half had crossed the mountains, but the local attendance was larger than ever before in the history of the Conference, even than in Cleveland, where the registration was three times as large.

Nothing could show more clearly the passing of the old *charity* ideal and the coming in of the *social justice* ideal that has supplanted it than the proceedings of the 40th Conference. One almost wonders whether the change of opinion, if not of method, has not gone to a new extreme and whether we have not forgotten that not *all* of the world's woes are due to social conditions but that some of them have intrinsic and subjective causes.

It seems to one who has known the Conference intimately during almost the period of a generation, that the fortieth meeting marks the close of an era in its history and the opening of a new one. Hence it is an opportune time for an elderly man whose life is behind him to be replaced as Secretary by one with the flush of dawn on his brow and the strong pulse of youthful energy in his veins.

May a personal word be pardoned and may I say that to me the great Conference has been a wonderful university of the humanities, and in giving up the *business* as Secretary, I shall all the more enjoy the *work* as a member.

The 41st Conference will meet in Memphis, Tennessee, beginning May 8th, 1914, and Graham Taylor of Chicago, well known in every good word and work, but chiefly known and loved as the soul of Chicago Commons, will preside.

Vineland, N. J. A. J.
December 11th, 1913.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
	FRONTISPIECE: Portrait of Frank Tucker, President of the Conference	
	PREFACE	iii
I.	PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS: Social Justice, FRANK TUCKER, New York	1
II.	CONFERENCE SERMON: REV. A. J. MCKELWAY, D. D., Washington, D. C.	14
III.	DISTRIBUTION AND ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS:	
	Report for the Committee, PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR, Chairman	26
	The Need of the Immigrant in the Woods, REV. JOHN W. BEARD	36
	Co-operation between Federal and State Officials, Civic and Voluntary Agencies in the Reception of Immigrants, PROF. JOSEPH K. HART	39
	Special Survey of Coast Conditions Relative to Immigration, CHARLES W. BLANPIED	42
IV.	THE RELATION OF COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS TO SOCIAL WELFARE:	
	Report for the Committee, ROGER N. BALDWIN, Chairman	73
	A Chamber of Commerce Militant, E. M. WILLIAMS	84
	The Relation of Commercial Organizations to Neighboring Rural Communities, JOHN R. HOWARD, JR.	92
	The Role of Commercial Organizations in Social Welfare on the Pacific Coast, MISS GRACE TRUMBULL	95
	Charities Endorsement in Retrospect and Prospect, HENRY STEWART	100
	Developing Standards, LEROY A. HALBERT	106
	The Essentials of the Cleveland Experiment, E. M. WILLIAMS	111
V.	PROBATION, PRISONS AND PAROLE:	
	The Honor System of Prison Labor, MRS. MILLIE R. TRUMBULL, Representing Hon. Oswald West, Governor of Oregon	116
	Adult Probation and Parole in New York State, FRANK E. WADE	120
	The Prison of the Twentieth Century, JOSEPH P. BYERS	129
	Discussion, JOHN J. SONSTEBY	136
VI.	THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK:	
	Address, JOHN M. GLENN, Chairman	138
	A Church's Social Work from a Layman's Point of View, ALEXANDER JOHNSON	146
	The Church and the Community, J. W. MAGRUDER	151
	The Church and Social Work, REV. HENRY A. ATKINSON	154
	The Church and Social Work, REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D. D.	156

VII. HEALTH AND PRODUCTIVE POWER:

Report for the Committee, LIVINGSTON FARRAND, M. D., Chairman 159
Co-ordination of Official and Private Activity in Public Health Work, J. F. CRICHTON, M. D. 165
Co-ordination of Official and Private Activity in Public Health Work, JOHN A. KINGSBURY 169
Auditing the Birth Account: A Necessary Process in Perfecting our Social Bookkeeping, LEWIS MERIAM 173
Discussion, C. F. DAVIDSON 180

VIII. PUBLIC SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION:

Report of the Committee, WILLIAM T. CROSS, Chairman 183
Public Charities in Washington, ANNA Y. REED, PH. D. 194
Address, HON. ERNEST LISTER, Governor of Washington 205
The Development of Municipal Charities in the United States, STANLEY H. HOWE 208
Boards of Public Welfare and Good City Government, LEROY A. HALBERT 212

IX. STANDARDS OF LIVING AND LABOR:

Report for the Committee, REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D. D., Chairman 222
The Present Status of Minimum Wage Legislation, MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY 229
The Problem of the Worker Who Is Unable to Earn the Minimum Wage, PROF. ARTHUR E. WOOD 234
The Minimum Wage and Child Labor, REV. A. J. MCKELWAY 246
Workmen's Compensation versus Insurance for Accidents, PROF. JAMES H. GILBERT 248
Indemnity for Trade Diseases, PROF. WALTER G. BEACH 257
Workmen's Compensation for Industrial Diseases, FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN 264

X. CHILDREN:

Report for the Committee, REV. BROTHER BARNABAS, F. S. C., Chairman 276
Vocational Training in Institutions, F. J. SESSIONS 287
Discussion, DR. MARY O'BRIEN PORTER 293
The Need of Child Welfare Work in Rural Communities, W. H. SLINGERLAND, PH. D. 295
Unity in Child Helping Service, WILLIAM T. CROSS 302
Caring for the Dependent Children in California, W. ALMONT GATES 306
The Child Welfare Exhibit as a Means of Child Helping, ANNA LOUISE STRONG 311
Aims and Objects of the Federal Children's Bureau, LEWIS MERIAM 317
Diagnostic Methods as an Aid in Juvenile Court Administration, LILBURN MERRILL, M. D. 324

XI. Families and Neighborhoods:
Working Programs in Variously Sized Cities, Francis H. McLean 332
The Central Council, J. J. O'Connor 340
The Development of Social Surveys, Shelby M. Harrison 345
Case Work Disciplines and Ideals, Mrs. John M. Glenn 353
The American Family and Its Problems, John R. Howard, Jr. 362
Leadership, Miss Margaret F. Byington..... 370
Training, Miss Harriet E. Anderson 376
Discussion, Charles C. Stillman, Miss Virginia McMechen, Miss Ruth Arnold, V. R. Manning... 379

XII. Minutes of Meetings 385

XIII. Rules of Procedure..... 409

XIV. Organization of Conferences 1913, 1914 412

XV. List of Members 1913 418

XVI. Index 455

Proceedings of the Fortieth
National Conference of Charities and Correction

President's Address

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Frank Tucker, New York

For the fortieth time this National Conference of Charities and Correction meets tonight. History records no more vivid, startling and dramatic period in the life of a nation than these four decades, because of the greatness of the industrial changes that have taken place. The Conference has played a part of tremendous importance in the evolution of thought that has made the nation throb with new ideals, new demands, new strivings for an everyday practice of democracy.

The men and women who year after year have gathered here have been vital forces in bringing the nation face to face with its greatest problems. They have been vital because their contact was direct and immediate with the human waste that poured out from the economic processes of our expanding industrial life and from the puny efforts to suppress great natural impulses, desires and needs by unsocial man-made laws. They have been vital because they have been intolerant of a life guided by axiomatic philosophy. They have been vital because every man and woman who comes here has helped in the daily routine of life to better conditions and to make individuals happier.

The Conference as a forum has been a national conscience. It has served as a continuing memory for the people. Year after year the experience and knowledge gained in daily contact with poverty, crime, physical and mental disability have been poured out. Year after year has seen a growing revolt against the dogmas that the poor would be always with us and that man was inherently depraved. Year after year the word *prevention* has been louder and louder. The demand for the *cause* has become more insistent. Year after year new

experiments in constructive social efforts have been reported here. The message has been taken back to hundreds of other communities and has stimulated them to effort. A national organ of social work has grown to a circulation of thousands, indicative of the growing interest in social and economic conditions. What other nation can point to a magazine like *The Survey!*

But has all this constructive work, this research into the causes of poverty and crime caused lack of interest in the care of the prisoner, the insane, the drunkard, the prostitute? Has the National Conference lost interest in the problems of custodial care? On the contrary, hand in hand with the desire and effort to prevent poverty and crime has gone the insistence that all that relates to institutional and home care shall be put on an efficiency basis. Those who have been administrators of institutions have also been searchers for the causes that brought them inmates. The housing problems of the institution have been as keenly interesting as the housing problems of the community; the personnel of institutional administration has been as strenuously discussed as the personnel of community administration; the demand for an adequate standard of living for the normal family of the community has been reflected in the efforts to give adequate relief to the dependent family.

The change that has taken place in the National Conference is not that it has laid aside its first interest but rather that it has added to its first interest another so large that it must inevitably result in a third and still more difficult task.

The first interest of this Conference was the care of the dependent and the defective—primarily as a State function. To help the poor and punish the wicked. This was the prevalent conception of the function of the State. That it should be done humanely was the work of the philanthropist. The problem was comparatively simple because then our civilization was simple. A change began almost imperceptibly. The population—notably in the cities—grew rapidly. Industrial expansion gathered headway. Labor began to agitate. Greater public works to meet increasing public needs were undertaken. The economic results of seasonal occupation became

apparent. The American genius for organization realized the enormous financial possibilities in organizing the sources of supply for the daily needs of life and began exploiting them. The same genius recognized the enormous value of natural resources to a growing population which had treated them with the prodigality of a spendthrift, and began acquiring them. Land values rose and rents with them. Educational and cultural forces created new necessities of life even among those of least earning capacity. Under the pressure to spend old habits of thrift were swept away. Standards of compensation were slow to respond—they had been fixed under simpler conditions of life and custom held them fast. The equilibrium of thousands of families became so sensitive that an economic disturbance was immediately reflected in the status of the family. The problems of public and private agencies dealing with dependency became acute. More efficient methods were demanded to deal with vice and crime.

It was at this point in our national development that the men and women whose interest in philanthropic work brought them into control of social agencies as trustees, managers and directors, realized the necessity for a different type of executive to make their organizations efficient in handling their problems. This realization brought into the field of social work men and women of training both by education and world contact. The cry for the trained worker became country-wide. Training schools were started. The trained worker meant the trained thinker and the trained thinker wants to know WHY? New groups came into the field of philanthropic endeavor, the settlement workers, the doctors and trained nurses, the lawyers, representatives of capital and labor. New activities grew out of new knowledge and new groups of trained men and women executives contributed their expert knowledge on housing, health, factory work, labor of women and children, recreation, vocational training, labor conditions, occupational diseases, dangerous occupations, the living wage, the essentials of a normal standard of life, insurance, the right to rest one day in seven. More and more pronounced became the conviction that the individual dependent and the individual violator of the law were not

an unhappy necessity, but an expression of unsound social and economic conditions.

This National Conference had reached the stage when preventive philanthropy became its dominant note. It had reached the stage when its formulation of the causes of poverty and crime became much more definite. When the causes of poverty and crime had been crystallized as inefficient and dishonest government, inefficient education, exploitation of labor, exploitation of the physical and economic necessities of everyday life, exploitation of weaknesses of character, for which causes some of the best and some of the worst of our countrymen from captains of industry to the ward boss controlling organized vice, were equally guilty, the men and women of this Conference began to search for remedies. Their first demand was for a standard of living which should recognize certain essentials for a normal family and community life. From essentials to their cost; from the cost of essentials to living wage; from the setting up of standards to the demand for minima, these were the inevitable steps in this evolution of our attitude towards Poverty and Crime.

It had taken many years to get as far as this and the steps had been irregular and halting. The next step came quickly and it was rather a giant's leap. It needed but the grouping of economic propositions deduced from the discovery of new social facts to make the social workers group of the country realize that preventive philanthropy privately expressed was but as a straw beating against Gibraltar to break down the forces of greed, selfishness, ignorance, unsound tradition, and unsocial interpretation of law. The State had a new function to perform—it must prevent poverty and crime, not alone care for the one and punish the other. It must prevent by law, by constructive action, and by encouraging the cooperation of private social effort. Then the murmurings which had been faintly heard for several years, "Not Charity but Justice," swelled into a mighty cry for "Social Justice" that roared through the nation.

Within sixty days from the adjournment of the National Conference in Cleveland a year ago the problems of life which it had been investigating, formulating and discussing were

the issues in the most significant presidential campaign in half a century. Many of those identified with leadership in the Conference went into political action to make effective their social beliefs. Some assisted at the birth of a new party brought into life with a fervor that was religious; some aided to give a new objective to a party whose course had long been erratic; and some clung to the wreck of the once dominant political power believing its machinery could be made effetive to bring about social and economic reforms.

When the National Conference closed its sessions in Cleveland one year ago I believe it closed the second era of thought and discussion in its history. When that great cry for social justice went up from the nation in the campaign of 1912 it meant that poverty, crime, disease, misery and unhappiness existed in a land of abundance, that government had in part failed in its functions, in part failed to realize its opportunities and responsibilities, and that the people themselves had failed to adjust themselves and their organized mechanisms for supplying their needs to the complexities of modern life.

But to cry for social justice is easy, to attain it a long and wearisome journey. It seems definite but it is only reached by the individual doing the thousand and one commonplace things that make up the daily routine of life according to ideals of unselfish fairness, by the family conducting its relations with its neighbors according to ideals of unselfish cooperation, and by the community demanding that its common needs, its common acts, and its common property shall be met, controlled and administered with efficiency and ideals of service.

I believe the third era in the life of the National Conference has begun. I believe that the new era will concern itself with constructive discussion for a program to bring about the health, efficiency, happiness and welfare of individual, family and community. A discussion that will lead to the standardizing of hazy, formless ideals into definite action by individuals, families and communities in their daily routine of life which will mean health, material welfare, happiness in reasonable recreation, intelligent knowledge of this world and its

natural and human forces, and intellectual freedom to search for new knowledge.

This state of existence, brought about by individual, family and community acts, based on ideals of honesty, efficiency and service we may well call Social Justice. To obtain it means coordinating and standardizing all social effort. That can most effectively come about through a common meeting place for discussion. That meeting place will continue to be the National Conference of Charities and Correction. We must expect to be the melting pot from which our knowledge and ideals will flow into new programs of constructive action.

If we have been largely responsible for compelling the cry for Social Justice, we are responsible for defining it and helping to bring it about. Social Justice, it seems to me, is a state of community life which is in equilibrium maintained by rules of conduct called law. The law and its enforcement are the results of community knowledge, ideals and efficiency, brought about by education. This state of social equilibrium does not exclude cultural and economic contrasts in families and individuals. It does exclude cultural and economic extremes and it is part of the law, a community act, to prevent these extremes of knowledge and ignorance, of wealth and poverty, in individuals. It does exclude the University and the College for the few while there is half time in the primary schools for thousands. It does exclude the possibility of a single individual accumulating five hundred millions of dollars through the ordinary processes of industry or finance; it does demand that a family shall not be hopelessly doomed to progressive deterioration by an inadequate wage. It does not exclude the possibility of variations in income or capital provided they are brought about by effort, energy, knowledge legitimately exercised or risk fairly taken.

Social Justice demands minima below which no individual or family, fit to be a member of a community, shall be expected to exist. It puts no limit on knowledge, wealth or power, provided they are not acquired at the expense of the weaker or used for their exploitation. Social Justice, on the contrary, demands that knowledge, wealth and power be used

for raising the minima of life in their everyday physical and intellectual expression. A world-old struggle! Yes, but never so nearly attained as at this moment in this Nation of ours. Never so nearly attained before, because never has a nation so young, so free from traditions and prejudices, realized and crystallized the issue so clearly. Never before have the minima of life been so definitely formulated by the toilers of all kinds and never before have wealth, power and knowledge so freely acknowledged their responsibility for the welfare of the weaker.

What are these minima that Social Justice demands? Let us list them in terms of every day needs.

1. *A Living Wage*—Social Justice says the very least among ye shall be paid enough to have for himself and his family education, adequate housing, sufficient food, simple clothes, fuel, light and transportation, reasonable recreation, health, care and protection, insurance against death and disability. It says that enough shall be paid him to maintain a standard of living which shall have all these essentials to the degree that each individual of the family may exist as a healthy human being, morally, mentally and physically. Social Justice says that the living wage must be fixed by intelligent co-operation in the full knowledge that the community ultimately pays the price if the wage is inadequate to maintain a normal standard of life.

2. *Reasonable Working Hours and Conditions of Work*—Social Justice demands that the worker, in office, factory, shop or mine, shall not be destroyed or disabled, or his working years shortened. It demands that the number of hours of continuous work shall be reasonably limited; that there shall be one day's rest in seven; that occupational diseases shall be studied and preventive mechanisms and processes arbitrarily provided and their use enforced; that the home shall not be turned into a sweat shop, bakeshop, food factory, candy factory or cannery; that there shall be light, air, sanitary conveniences as well as safety appliances for machinery in every factory, foundry and workshop. It demands that Industry shall be the means through which we realize the joy of living, not the agency for physical, mental and moral degradation and destruc-

tion. Social Justice demands that community ideals of a normal life set the standards for Industry and not an employer who is selfish and ignorant or a workman who is reckless and ignorant.

3. *Education*—Social Justice demands that every one shall be trained to be efficient as a producer and a consumer and effective and intelligent as a community member. It encourages scientific and cultural education and utilizes and rewards its products. Social Justice encourages, needs, can only exist by contrasts in knowledge, but it demands a definite minimum of knowledge for all.

4. *Housing*—Socal Justice demands that the housing of the lowliest shall have sanitary and housekeeping necessities, shall not be over-crowded and shall be procurable at a reasonable price. It does not prohibit the congregate house, but it forbids a city of congregate houses without playgrounds for the children. Social Justice does not exclude the mansion of the millionaire, but demands that it shall be an appreciation of the value of the fine arts. It likewise demands that. the mansion shall be taxed with due regard to its cost when the tenement is taxed on the basis of its earning capacity.

5. *Food*—Social Justice demands that the lowliest shall have sufficient food. It demands that neither the raiser nor the consumer of food shall be exploited. It demands that food shall be pure and unadulterated; that it shall be sold by honest weight and measure. It demands that it shall not be wasted. It demands that its production, storage, distribution and consumption shall be under the direction of the most efficient and scientific men that the community can enlist. Social Justice demands that this great elemental necessity of life shall be treated with respect and dignity by all and that all the community power and resources shall be used in its production, transportation, storage and sale. Social Justice does not exclude indigestion in the millionaire even though it sometimes suffers in consequence, but it demands a minimum of it in the toiler because it destroys his efficiency.

6. *Clothes*—Social Justice demands that clothes shall be honest, simple and appropriate. It frowns upon extravagance, exaggeration and constant change. It forbids the wan-

ton destruction of birds and animals to gratify a senseless vanity. It encourages the effort to make the necessaries of clothes beautiful in appearance, substantial in quality and reasonable in cost. It commands the intelligent to set an example of simplicity and dignity. It does not exclude the fur coat for the millionaire, but it does demand an honest suit of wool for the worker.

7. *Health*—Social Justice demands that the individual be taught from the time of first understanding the elements of health preservation; to know the danger signals of disease; that he shall be taught the value of sound expert advice and that he shall have the means to employ it; that he shall be taught to spot a quack and shun him; to look askance upon patent medicine curealls; that he shall know the problems of sex and have a holy horror of venereal disease.

Social Justice demands that the family place right up near the top of its budget the item for the preservation of health and realize how large it must be; it likewise demands that standards of compensation must be based on knowledge of the size of this item. It prescribes the worship of health as a part of the family religion. It says that to the illuminated prayer "God Bless Our Home" there shall be added in equally vivid letters: "He will if you keep clean and healthy because then ye shall have power to wrestle with all things human."

Social Justice demands that chiefest among community efforts shall be the preservation of health, the prevention of disease, the care of the sick and injured, the custodial care of the insane and feeble minded, the education and training of doctors and nurses, research into the causes of disease. It demands that through community action we know the cause of scarlet fever, measles, mumps, whooping cough, appendicitis, cancer, tuberculosis, and rheumatism. Social Justice demands research by the State as well as care. Social Justice applauds the magnificent gifts of private wealth to the cause of medical research and appreciates that expression of social responsibility, but it warns the community that it must not rely on private effort alone.

8. *Recreation*—Centuries of experience have taught us that man must and will play; it has taught us that to be

efficient in work there must be the hours of interested idleness Experience has further taught us that this impelling desire for recreation in its widest meaning is one of man's elemental needs most easily exploited for gain by the vicious and brutal. Social Justice demands that the child have due oportunity to learn to play; that the family must provide for the cost of recreation in its budget; that standards of compensation must recognize the cost of recreation; that the community must exercise its power to provide opportunities and facilities for play and recreation through the whole gamut of recreation possibilities from tag to opera. Social Justice does not exclude the yacht, the automobile, the polo pony, the picture gallery or the private engagement of the operatic star from the millionaire's scheme of recreation, but it demands that all shall have a playground, a park, a bathing beach, a dance hall, an art collection, and music and the drama in all their forms of expression. Social Justice demands that recreation shall be a part of the scheme of life in every individual, family and community. Its minima are easily formulated; its limits are set by idleness and viciousness.

9. *Security of Life and Economic Status Through Social Insurance*—Experience has taught us that Society always pays the bill for its injustice, its inefficiency, its neglect to face equally the problems of life and to organize to deal with them. If we don't pay to prevent we do pay to care for the results of our neglect. The cost of custodial care in prisons, asylums, hospitals and almshouses, as well as of relief outside the institution, is vastly greater in the long run than the cost of organized prevention. Provision against industrial disaster which may mean a worker killed, maimed, disabled or out of work is one of the demands of Social Justice. That insurance against loss of earning power shall be a budget item with every family, that its cost shall be recognized in fixing standards of compensation, that it shall be provided at the lowest possible cost by either State action or private enterprise or both looms large among the demands of Social Justice. It does not exclude the million dollar policy for the rich man any more than it excludes him in the scheme of life, but says that not he alone

but all working men shall have insurance protection against accident, sickness, old age and death.

10. *Transportation, Heat and Light*—Here are three necessities that bulk large in the daily life of the city dweller. It is pitiful to find what a proportion of the family budget it takes to provide these necessities even in a most limited way. Social Justice demands that these daily necessities of life shall not be exploited. It does not deny to the millionaire his automobile or horses, his open hearth and wood fire, or his beautifully softened electric light, but it does demand that the trolley cars shall be clean, frequent and run at a three cent fare instead of five if the lower fare is financially possible; it does require that heat and light shall be furnished to the humblest home by efficient methods, and at prices that represent a reasonable return on an actual investment of capital. If private enterprise will not furnish these needs on these terms, Social Justice demands that efficient men inspired by the spirit of service shall devote themselves to heading the community's own organization for providing them.

11. *Government*—To reach that state of social equilibrium which we cry for as Social Justice, we must broaden and make more definite our conception of the mechanism we create to manage our common affairs and which we call Government. Government consists of three things: the law we enact to regulate our common acts and provide for our common needs; the physical property required for our common acts and needs; and the personnel, the men and women hired to work for the community. To the extent that we attain wisdom in making laws; to the extent that we purchase, use and preserve honestly and efficiently the real and personal property of the community; and to the extent that the community employes from President to street sweeper are efficient and inspired by ideals of service, just so far and no farther shall we go on our road to Social Justice.

What progress are we making toward Social Justice through Government? Never before in our history has such a mass of legislation, most of it ill thought out and badly drafted, been offered for the benefit of the people. It is the inevitable response to the cry for Social Justice offered by the fake re-

former and the incompetent legislator, and with our national tendency to search for panaceas that will stop the pain and cure the disease at once, we are storing up for ourselves economic and social diseases that will become painfully apparent when the legislative narcotic has failed to work. Let me beg of the social workers of the country never to suggest or support a legislative bill until its language has been made exact and its effects have been studied to their minutest ramifications. We are insane for the act of legislation; we are feeble minded in failing to realize that only the broadest legislation on human relations and conduct can be enforced and to demand that the multifarious details of human relations and conduct shall be adjusted and carried on according to individual and community character and standards.

We cannot have Social Justice if the billions of money we are spending for community property is wasted or stolen. The burden of community waste and dishonesty falls heaviest upon the man of minimum earning capacity who, Social Justice demands, shall have items in his budget for recreation, health preservation, insurance and savings.

We cannot have Social Justice if the personnel of Government, the men and women whom we hire to do the community work, are wasteful, dishonest and inefficient; if they conduct our work for their personal gain and are not inspired with the spirit of professional and community service. Community employes will be just what community character and standards demand they shall be. If we think of the Mayor as the community business manager, of the superintendent of schools as the guardian of educational efficiency, of the city engineer as the promoter of a pure water supply, adequate sewage and garbage disposal, substantial paving, economical lighting; of the health officer as the guardian of community health; of the comptroller as the watchdog of the treasury and the producer of the fiscal facts of government; and demand that they be technically efficient and inspired with ideals of service we shall get them. And until we get them we cannot have Social Justice.

Men are not born free and equal. They never have been and they never will be. No one is free. In community life we

are all interdependent. It is easy for that interdependence to sink into economic slavery if the powerful, the rich and the unscrupulous are permitted to manipulate government, to exploit labor, physical and economic necessities, weaknesses of character, and ignorance. Men are not equal one with the other either in physical or mental strength, training or knowledge. Education will prevent extremes but it will never produce equality in physique or knowledge. Community standards embodied in wise law will help to give equality of opportunity.

Social Justice demands a sense of social stewardship on the part of those of larger knowledge and power and calls upon them to lead the fight against the selfish financial purposes of those economically powerful and those socially destructive.

Social Justice demands that workers, of every class, grade and occupation shall be honest, sincere and faithful; efficient as workers and as community members.

Can we hope for a social equilibrium here in America which embodies and is built on social justice? Yes, if we deal with the problems of industry and finance with wisdom; yes, if we have an enlightened attitude towards government; yes, if community character is the resultant of individual and family character and ideals; yes, if there is a sense of social stewardship on the part of those of larger knowledge and power for those of restricted life.

The Conference Sermon

THEME: JUSTICE, KINDNESS, RELIGION.

A. J. McKelway, Washington, D. C.

Text: Micah 6:8. "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justice and to love kindness and to walk humbly with thy God."

A strange figure looming out of the misty past, this of Balaam, the son of Beor. Perfect type of the Professional, of all ages and lands. One who uttered some of the noblest sentiments ever spoken by man, yet when moved by greed, showing himself blinder than the ass which he bestrode, so that he forever becomes associated with the animal of the long ears. A man who prophesied for hire, who encouraged the falsehood that the gift of God could be purchased with money, yet was careful to speak only what he believed that God had put into his mouth. A man with a singularly elevated conception, for that ancient time, of the character of the Almighty—"God is not a man that he should lie, nor the son of man that he should repent"—yet who, with the "rewards of divination" tempting him, acted on the presumption that God would change his mind for the prophet's gain. A most human character, considering the contradictions that go to make up the lives of us all.

One tradition about Balaam was unrecorded, so far as we know, for a thousand years, or written down in one of the lost Hebrew books, like the book of Jasher, and recorded again by the Prophet Micah, who belonged to the time of Hezekiah, the Great King. "Remember now," says Micah, "what Balak, King of Moab, devised, and what Balaam, son of Beor, answered him."

And here is the question of Balak: "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the High God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves a

year old? will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"

And this was Balaam's answer, in the words of the text: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

We can forgive Balaam his sordid life and his fateful death, for that. Coming out of that age of the world, an age of cruelty and blood, when even the Chosen People conducted wars of extermination, and even human sacrifice, the giving of the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul, was a common thing—out of that age, we have this revelation of truth: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good;" this revelation of duty: "He requireth of thee justice, kindness, and reverence toward himself." Shall we not agree with Milton, that this

> "Seer of old,
> Stood on Zophim, Heaven-controlled"?

We have gone far beyond the period of human or of animal sacrifices to propitiate Deity. We live in a more refined age of the world. Now we work men twelve hours a day, seven days of the week, at wages barely sufficient to support life, and we propitiate by putting into effect a beautiful plan of workmen's compensation. We atone for the facts of poverty and misery and inhuman toil and needless accidents and deaths by building libraries out of the income of a bond issue whose interest is paid in bloody sweat. We crush out competitors through the employment of spies as bookkeepers in rival establishments, through rebate arrangements with complacent railroad systems, and then we endow universities and foundations for the instruction of youth and the alleviation of human suffering. We work women and children in cotton mills eleven hours a day, resist every effort to raise the age-limit for working children and to shorten the hours for the mothers of the race, and then, out of the profits of their industry beyond that which satisfies the stockholders, we build schools and churches and hospitals and playgrounds and do all manner of "betterment

work." We erect tenements with so little regard for light and air and even decency that we would not house in them our cattle or our horses lest they die, and rent these to our fellowmen, counting the unearned increment as the capital on which we must have returns, and then we build mission churches for the poor and make large gifts for the conversion of the heathen into what we think is Christianity. We hire women by the thousands at wages below the cost of decent living and fill the houses of prostitution with our victims, but we are large contributors to the Magdalen Homes. We believe with all our hearts in alleviating at not too great a cost the conditions that we have created, to the sacrifice of human life but to our profit. Will the Lord be pleased with these gifts any more than with thousands of rams or ten thousand rivers of oil? Will the costliest memorial church or the most heavily endowed foundation atone for that sin of the soul, injustice?

I. Justice.

Justice is but the echo in the heart of man of Divine Righteousness. We cannot conceive of the Deity as being less than just, and we are made in his image. Men do not always know what justice is, and their thoughts of justice widen with the process of the suns. But if there is any current of American thought today that is running all in one direction, it is the demand among the masses of men for justice. We can tell its course by the ripples on the surface when some obstacle rears its head, but it is sweeping on with swifter and swifter current. And Privilege of every kind must go down before the rush of that current. There are some who fear that much which is precious shall also be swept away if the stream becomes a torrent. There are some who believe that the stream will run red with the blood of revolution ere it finds the level that it seeks. So it may be, if the demand for justice grows at the same time intelligent and passionate, and justice is denied.

Suppose that this pressing, resistless current, to revert to our figure, were to be turned through the wheels of industry, to light and warm mankind and to do the work of the world. Must not the democratization of government, with more and

more power in the hands of the people, the workers, be followed, as the night the day, by the democratization of industry?

The President's address at this fortieth session of the National Conference declared that we have already entered upon a new era. The ever-recurring theme of that address was the demand for social justice. He undertook to define for us some of the forms of social justice for which we, as social workers, must strive. But it seems to me that the great problem underlying all of these reforms is that of *the equitable division of the profits of industry.* We are just beginning to talk about the minimum wage as a possibility. We have about reached the conclusion, eminent in essential justice, that the industry that cannot pay a living wage, cannot thrive without the cheap labor of little children, cannot exist without a twelve-hour day and a seven-day week, in the face of foreign competition, had better die. It is alien to the land that adopted the Declaration of Independence at its birth. Why shall we not reach the standard set by the Social Service Commission of the Protestant Churches and demand: "The highest wage that any industry can afford"? If this means fewer yachts and automobiles and trips to Europe, it may at the same time mean the more frequent gratification of the average American ambition to save up four dollars and go somewhere. We say we are set for the prevention of poverty. We must urge this fundamental form of justice, ere poverty can be abolished.

We have had at these annual sermons to the Conference, many eloquent and stirring messages from the Church to the social worker. In this demand that it stand for Social Justice, we have the social worker's message to the Church. It is true that we have with us those whom Micah of old stigmatized as "priests that teach for hire and prophets that divine for money." It is also true that the American pulpit, whether represented by Protestant minister or Catholic priest or Jewish rabbi, while not yet fully awakened to the demand for social justice that so rings in our ears, is sound at the core. Its preachers are preachers of righteousness, though they have not always seen its modern application. When it does see, when it does awaken, it will become the noblest agency

for arousing the people to an insistent demand for justice in all the relations of life.

We social workers have seen, we have seen the affliction of our people. We have seen the family struggling bravely just above the bread-line through low wages; falling below that line because of a week's sickness, or the cost of a funeral; falling into the hands of the money shark, then becoming dependent upon society. We have seen that "poor rights were powerless and right injustice strong," in the courts of justice itself. We have seen cheap wages lead to family labor, the man no longer the proud breadwinner, but the mother holding her child to a toil-shriveled breast, the children taken from school and doomed to the ranks of the unskilled workers, to blind-alley occupations, from which there is no outlet save that of beginning again. We have seen prostitution claiming its victims by the thousands, the modern Minotaur, devouring our virgins, being none other than the Insufficient Wage, just as we have seen thousands of other girls enduring fiercest temptation, in the face of weariness and a joyless life, growing old before their time and giving up the hope that every good woman has of a home of love with a babe at her breast. We have seen the mother leaving her baby in the care of ignorance while she goes to the mill or to the scrubbing floor, and we have read the fearful statistics of infant mortality from such industrial cities as Fall River, Massachusetts, while we can only imagine what those figures must be for communities with longer hours and lower wages where mortality and birth statistics are not kept.

We have seen the poverty of the family result in the neglect of the children, enforced neglect, until the juvenile court takes charge. And we have wrestled with the manifold problems of poverty in the city.

Then we go to church and hear an interesting discourse on the Civilization of the Hittites, while the exploiters of their fellowmen sit with comfortable conscience in their pews and reckon up their gains.

I am convinced that the great obstacle to enlisting the powerful agency of the Church in the cause of social reform is the indolence of the pulpit. But the pulpit is not alone

in resenting the necessity of exploring new fields of thought. The bar is equally reluctant to consent to a constitutional convention which may upset the precedents of a hundred or a thousand years and make necessary a new line of decisions. It is the problem of putting new wine into old wine-skins.

But the pulpit must awake to the fact that it has to preach social justice if it is not to lose its remaining power for this generation. It must make the anti-social man as uncomfortable as it has made the atheist or the libertine. And this will cause a gradual change in the constituency of the Church. Perhaps we may even live to see the day when the reproach will be brought against the average minister of the church, that "the common people hear him gladly."

The social worker has had to face another difficulty which confronts the pulpit in speaking with absolute fearlessness for social justice. It has been often true that the very means for the alleviation of injustice were furnished by those whose selfishness caused the conditions that made the dispensing of relief necessary. Nor would I contend that all social workers are free from the reproach of silence where the truth should have been spoken, or that some may not have cultivated overmuch the "rascally virtue" of discretion. Money has been needed and sorely needed, not for the salary of the worker, whether in the pulpit or in social service—let us not fall so low as to consider that—but for the work of the social organization or the church. And money is sensitive and easily offended when the worker who uses it begins to suggest that justice is better than charity, a high wage scale more of a benevolence than betterment work paid for out of the profits of industry. We still have with us those who devour widows' houses and make long prayers. But it takes courage and independence and faith that the work will go on in the church or the community irrespective of the tainted money that flows into the treasury, to show the devourer of widows' houses just what he is doing.

II. Kindness.

But if we are content only with doing justice or with seeing that it is done, we may be sure that we shall do less than

justice. Justice demands that I shall pay the uttermost farthing of any kind of obligation that I owe. But I become an altogether unlovely character when I am just as exacting that the uttermost farthing shall be paid me. Kindness is the overplus of justice. We must demand for others nothing less than justice. We must give to others something more than justice. Justice is a natural instinct, kindness a spiritual quality. Justice can be denied or granted to men in the mass. But kindness seeks out the individual. Justice demands the prevention of the social ills from which we suffer which the administration of equal justice will cure. But kindness accomplishes the salvation of the individual whom injustice has already smitten to the dust. We have come to a new vision of the duty of the modern good Samaritan, to organize a committee that shall stop highway robbery, that may even enquire into the problem, What is so wrong with our social system that men are driven into the ranks of the banditti? But we must not in the meantime forget to succor the wounded man, to give first aid to the injured, to put him on our own beast and carry him to the inn, and make our little contribution towards his board while there.

There is just as much danger of professionalism for the social worker as there has always been for the minister or priest. But here is the corrective, to love kindness. And what is more to the point, when we demand justice for others while the law of kindness is in our tongue we shall be far more effective in securing justice.

III. Religion.

The love of kindness is itself so near being the last of the three great words of the text, that we might say it is religion. Perhaps, more accurately, it is the inevitable outcome of religion. Religion is the tie that binds a man to his God, whoever and whatever that God may be to him. And when our God is conceived of as infinite in goodness and truth, then the tie that binds us to him binds us also to our fellow man. It makes us devotees of justice and practitioners of kindness.

Religion is what relieves the world of the monotony of

standardization, because religion is and must ever be an individual matter between God and the man, between God and the single soul of man. As God is a different God to every man, so that character that is formed from communion with God differentiates every man from every other man.

It is a false idea of religion against which social workers have made their noteworthy protest, that religion is concerned only or even mainly with the other world. For while we stand here between two eternities, yet the life that now is is infinite in its possibilities for the direction of the life that is to be. But religion must hold to the two-world theory of life, and it is equally an error, in our endeavor to brighten and sweeten the life that now is, to ignore the life that is to come. Let us agree that it is a great thing to be engaged in the task of making this world better. But what about those who shall not live to see it very much better than it is now, ourselves included? Does it not help us to realize for future generations a good world here, to know that there is a better world for us all, not so distant in time, nearer perhaps than we think?

Is there any hope that we can implant in the hearts of men that will compare with the hope of immortality? We believe that the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain in this world of ours when justice reigns and kindness flows from every heart. But what about those who have felt only wrong and injustice here, and who must leave this earthly scene, with wrongs unrighted and souls trampled in the dust? Is there no recompense in another life? Does it hold us back from the task of solving our pressing municipal problems, or rather does it not inspire us to their just solution, to "look for the city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God"? If we succeed in fixing the attention of men too strongly upon this world, even with the laudable motive of making it a better world to live in, do we not run the risk of robbing men of something more precious than we can bestow? We fight for a shorter working day for women, we shall perhaps live to see women excluded from the ranks of the menial workers, the scrub-women, the washer-women.

Yet the words of the Kansas poet, Eugene Ware, come to mind:

In a very humble cot,
In a rather quiet spot,
In the suds and in the soap,
Worked a woman full of hope;
Working, singing, all alone,
In a sort of undertone,
"With a Saviour for a friend,
He will keep me to the end."

Not in sorrow nor in glee,
Working all day long was she,
As her children, three or four,
Played around her on the floor,
But in monotone the song
She was humming all day long,
"With a Saviour for a friend,
He will keep me to the end."

It's a song I do not sing,
For I scarce believe a thing
Of the stories that are told
Of the miracles of old;
But I know that her belief
Is the anodyne of grief;
And will always be a friend
That will keep her to the end.

Just a trifle lonesome she,
Just as poor as poor could be,
But her spirits always rose
Like the bubbles in the clothes,
And though widowed and alone,
Cheered her with the monotone
Of a Saviour and a friend
Who would keep her to the end.

Human hopes and human creeds
Have their root in human needs;
And I would not wish to strip
From that washerwoman's lip
Any song that she can sing,
Any hope that song can bring,
For the woman has a friend
Who will keep her to the end.

I believe that the social worker must be religious, though I am desirous that he shall be of a new type. It was old Dr. Archibald Alexander, of Princeton, who once rebuked an impertinent inquirer after his soul's health, who finally asked him, "Well, haven't you got any religion?" by replying "None to speak of." The social worker does not care much for the religion that must be spoken of by its possessor. He knows that some of the traditional prohibitions of the church, as to what are called worldly amusements, are in fact the forbidding of that recreation which is one of the deepest of the needs of men.

But on the side of the Church let it be said, that the most, if not all social workers, owe their impulse toward social service to her teachings. It may be, in some cases, as was said of the American Colonies and the Mother Country, by the Elder Pitt, "They grew by her neglect." Nevertheless, the American colonists were English and they drew from their English inheritance that love of liberty that could not brook the tyranny of a stupid king and Parliament across the sea. They owed it to England that they opposed the Government of England in 1776.

So we owe it to the Church that we today are engaged in social service, if we are in that work because we love it and are not merely hired men. And our duty to the Church is to protest against any false views of religion that do not magnify the service of our fellow man.

Think of the mighty force of the organizations that will act together for social justice, when we can bring the churches and the synagogues to our way of thinking. The leaven is already working. And the members of the Church are the citizens, or in the case of women and children, the future citizens of the state and of the nation. They are the great majority of those citizens. Various church organizations are now establishing social service commissions, and there is a notable one representing practically all the Protestant Churches. The Catholic Church has its Conference of Catholic Charities and the Jewish Church its Conference of Jewish Charities. When we can get the vast undeveloped resources of the Church in the way of human energy enlisted in human wel-

fare, when the money and the brains of the Church are consecrated to the everyday, right-at-hand work of bettering conditions, of studying and teaching the causes of social ills and their cure, then we shall have a constituency that will force the legislation that we desire, even though that may involve the calling of a national constitutional convention and the re-writing of the constitution itself, in order to bring in the new era of social justice.

And it is to the constituency which the Church has created and is continually creating that we must appeal now for the correction of evils. The Church's main mission is that of making bad men good and good men better. When it stops doing that, we social workers will find to our cost that the good, the beautiful and the true no longer make their appeal to the hearts of men, and altruism will seem an irridescent dream.

I hold that no man will ever accomplish much for the well-being of his fellow-man whose own heart is not right, whose motives are not unselfish, whose life is not pure. We run the risk of undermining the foundations of the work which we have painfully builded when we ourselves fall below the moral standards which religion upholds. For we also are ministers of God. "If any will be chief among you let him be servant of all," that is, the servant of society itself.

We have of old required that the minister should be of blameless life, and his usefulness is ended when he is convicted of falling below the moral standard that he has held up for others. And so must it be with us who have set ourselves for the bettering of social conditions. We must not ourselves be guilty of social sins. For it is not we alone that suffer, but the causes for which we stand. Just as the man who collects money for a good cause and spends it dishonestly, "poisons the springs of charity," to use Dr. Chalmers' pregnant phrase, so we who are styled, with some degree of ridicule, the uplifters, may bring down, with our downfall, the whole structure that we have reared.

Finally, it is the thought of one's own death that is the golden key that unlocks the soul of every man.

Those of us who have been coming to these conferences

from year to year begin to miss a familiar face, here and there. There spoke to us, two years ago at Boston, a voice that now is still. I think I shall never forget the closing warning of Dr. Wines' appeal for the improvement of our county jails, "lest we bring down upon our country the vengeance of Almighty God." And now we say, "He is gone," as after a while, sooner or later, men shall say of us, at these meetings, if we deserve to be remembered at all, "He is gone." What do we mean by that? Here was a man who did something for his fellow-men, who wrote and taught and had within his mind stores of rich experience, and the memories of a long life, well spent. Does he live only in our fading memories? In the soon-forgotten pamphlets and articles that he wrote? I do not believe it. We cannot get the idea of immortality banished from our thought until we shall change a thousand expressions of our common speech. We said when we talked of our friend's death, "He is gone." We speak of those whom he "left behind." Then he has gone forward. It was Lord Bacon who said that he would rather believe all the fables of the Talmud than to believe that this universal frame was without a mind. I should rather disbelieve all the teachings of material science than to believe that the man and the brute and the clod are alike in death. Man is mortal, Man is immortal. I would not exchange for any earthly gift my faith that this mortal shall put on immortality. I wish for each of you the same hope, the same faith.

"I make delays, I stay my pace,
For what avails this eager race?
I stand amid the eternal ways,
And what is mine will know my face.
The stars come nightly to the sky,
The tidal wave unto the sea,
Nor fate, nor death, nor deep, nor high
Can keep my own away from me."

Distribution and Assimilation of Immigrants

REPORT FOR THE COMMITTEE.

Professor Graham Taylor, President Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, Chairman.

This Committee is commissioned by the Conference to present for discussion a report on immigrants, not immigration; on the distribution and assimilation of those who now have the right to land and settle anywhere in the United States, not therefore upon the question of restricted immigration. Hence this report deals, not with a foreign policy to be attained by treaty with other nations, not with the sifting process at ports of entry through the sieve of deportation and admission, but with a home-land, interior, or domestic policy, for the local distribution and assimilation of immigrants by our own people.

The demand for such a specialized report and discussion is still further emphasized by the fact that the Conference is held on the Pacific Coast, where there ought to be, and will be, if there is not now, an acute concern regarding the provision already made, or in the making, for distributing and assimilating European immigrants who are now here, or who may arrive through the Panama Canal. Although this impending influx is an unknown quantity in the problem, which it is not our province to predict, yet it is safe to forecast such a marked increase of immigration through this new channel, that what has been until now a minor factor in the population of the coast is henceforth to be of prime and pressing importance in the local policies and legislation of the Pacific slope states.

The one fact in the forefront of recent discussions of immigration to America is the change from the incoming of British and north European immigrants, arriving between 1820 and 1883, to the influx of southeastern Europe immigrants

arriving within these last thirty years. The attitude and policy of our people toward immigrants coming from those earlier and these later sources turn upon three questions: How much less in common have we with the new immigrant than with the old? How do the new immigrants compare with the old in their physical, industrial and moral qualities? How differently do the new immigrants affect the economic and social welfare of the United States than those from the older sources of our immigrant population?

Favorable Comparison with Earlier Immigrants.

In raising these questions, much more in considering the answers given to them, we need to be on our guard against prepossessions and prejudices which exaggerate and distort the statistical and economic factors involved. For instance, it is true that in 1911 of the 522,000 aliens added to our permanent population, 342,000 came from the newer and more unfamiliar sources, and 180,000 came from peoples more kindred to most of us. But it is also true that of the 13,500,000 foreign-born people among us, the half received from these southeastern European peoples constitutes a proportion of only one to fifteen in our ninety millions of people. It is true that there is less in common previously shared by us with the Latin, Slavic, Greek, Russian and Semitic peoples, than with the Irish, English, Scotch, German, Scandinavian, Dutch and Swiss folk, with whom we share a common language or kinship, or historical antecedents. But it is also true that our literature and language, our laws and religion, have received their ideals, forms, and their very spirit, from the same primitive sources from which these newer immigrants derive their own lives.

Invidious comparisons between the earlier and later immigrants are being drawn by their detractors and defenders. It is claimed that the physical, industrial and moral qualities of the southeastern immigrants are so inferior to those of the northwestern Europeans and British as to threaten to deteriorate American life and to increase our burdens in caring for dependents, defectives and delinquents.

As a matter of fact, however, the earlier immigrants are

shown, in government documents and from other sources, to have had a larger proportion of pauper, mentally unsound, and criminally inclined people among them than the later immigrants have had. And yet it is not fair to charge or credit this fact against or for either of these old world groups, because it is due to the laxity of our earlier immigration policy and laws and to the restrictions and strictness of our later administration. Nevertheless, it does show that our latest arrivals are standing the severer tests of capacity, and are, therefore, more carefully selected individuals than were very many of those who were deliberately imposed upon us by our kindred across the seas during the first half of the immigration movement.

The standards of living and industrial efficiency of the earlier Irish, English, German and Scandinavian immigrants were then held in such low esteem by our predecessors in American citizenship that nothing charged against Italians, Poles, Slavs, and Greeks, now coming to us can possibly be worse. And yet it is only fair to bear in mind that the American standards with which those of the two sets of immigrants are compared were lower at the time the former came to us and are higher since the latter began to arrive. With the historical perspective in the background, the increasingly marked contrasts drawn between the immigrant and American standards of living will seem more reasonable and less invidious.

Our economic and social welfare in America are thought by some to be imperilled by the large proportion of unskilled immigrants who are suspected of being assisted, and who are supposed to be unwilling to work on the land and inclined to overcrowd the towns and cities with unemployed or casually employed laborers. Their transient residence and migratory habits, their purpose to return to their fatherlands and to send their savings thither are cited against their desirability. Restrictionists and anti-restrictionists vie with each other in citing facts and quoting opinions to prove or disprove what was reported by the Federal Industrial Commission that "the newer immigrants arrive here at no lower social level, to say the least, than did their predecessors. Their habits of life, their general morality and intelligence cannot be called de-

cidedly inferior. No account of filth in daily surroundings among Italians and Hebrews can outmatch the pictures drawn by observers of the habits of immigrant Irish and even German.'' (See report Industrial Commission, Volume XV, page 491; Jenks and Lauck, The Immigration Problem, especially chapters 2, 3, 12; Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, especially chapter 3; Cyrus L. Sulzberger, in Proceedings Conference of Charities and Correction, Cleveland, 1912, page 239.)

Argument on the Basis of Motives.

The main reason for changing our attitude and policy toward immigration, however, is the alleged change in the motive now moving immigrants to come to America. Formerly, it is said, they came to escape political, religious and industrial oppression and therefore to seek freedom of conscience and liberty of life. Now the Federal Immigration Commission contends that ''those who immigrate to the United States are impelled by a desire for betterment, rather than by the necessity of escaping intolerable conditions,'' and concludes that ''this fact should largely modify the natural incentive to treat the immigration movement from the standpoint of sentiment, and permit its consideration primarily as an economic problem. In other words, the economic and social welfare of the United States should now ordinarily be the determining factor in the immigration policy of the government.''

Admitting our right to determine our immigration policy in accordance with our own economic and social welfare, we may well challenge the charge of unworthy motives against the present immigrants and the claim that we are no longer to be moved ourselves by sentiment toward them. To seek steadier and better paid work, higher standards of living, and a chance to save, has not hitherto been considered unworthy of those who are, or want to be, American citizens. It sounds strange at this late date, after we have fairly worshipped thrift, to hear it urged upon the nation as the principal reason for barring immigrants from our midst. It is nothing less than a world tragedy to regard this aspiration for the human right to live the life of a human being as reprehensible, when it is inspired and shot all through by the promise of

American life. The right to safeguard and promote our own welfare by no means releases us from the duty of doing our part toward the betterment of the world. It is by no means yet proven either that the love of liberty, or the struggle for human rights, have ceased to move the large proportion of our immigrants to seek American citizenship. It by no means follows that we will best assure our own welfare in ceasing to be moved by respect for such sentiments. By no demonstrable test has it yet been conclusively shown that the economic and social welfare of the United States has been impaired by the present immigration, in lowering wages, or the standards of living, in the increase of pauperism or delinquency.

It is therefore the duty of the hour in view of all these facts to call a halt in forming hasty judgments, to show that there is another side to every count in the indictments which the restrictionists and anti-restrictionists are presenting against each other, to warn our legislators and people, as well as our academic advocates and our argumentative statisticians, that the case is not closed, that the evidence is not all in, and to demand of every one a suspension of judgment pending far further inquiry for proof, not only from the census figures of immigration, but from the immigrants, who in all fairness, should be given some such chance to speak for themselves, as Peter Roberts gives them in his realistic volume on "The New Immigration."

Demand for Constructive National Policy.

The suggestion for an internal or domestic policy or immigration faces us with the fact that we have had none. The federal government has dealt only with the foreign policy, by treaties with other nations and by enforcing certain requirements for admission at ports of entry. Naturalization laws have been more strictly framed and administered, so that the process of becoming a citizen has become so much more deliberate and exacting as to afford opportunities for selecting and training immigrants for citizenship, of which our governmental and voluntary agencies have been slow to take advantage. Neither in our national or state laws, nor in our city ordinances, have we had any consistent, uniform, or com-

monly recognized policy of dealing with immigrants after we admit them and make them eligible to citizenship.

This negative attitude characterizes not only our laws but all our local dealing with immigrants, who are aware of the government only when being inspected or being found in default. Even the Federal Immigration Commission from its thirty volumes of valuable evidence, drew conclusions dealing far more with a stricter restrictive and exclusive policy, than with any constructive measures, making toward a national policy for distributing and assimilating admitted immigrants. The single recommendation of the Commission, referring to the protection and promotion of the immigrants' interests, either transfers to the state the responsibility of caring for them, and principally by deporting those most needing care, or leaves to the inadequate resources and organization of voluntary agencies and private citizens what can be effectively undertaken only by official agencies, having legal authority and public resources at command.

A domestic or internal immigration policy, worthy of the nation, a state, a city, or a smaller local community, is possible only by a country-wide co-operation between official and voluntary agencies—national, state and local—toward three ends: To receive, distribute and locate immigrants; to protect their persons and property from exploitation and abuse, to inform and train them for citizenship.

These three measures for assuring the public welfare, as truly as the welfare of the immigrants, are primarily government functions. Voluntary agencies, indeed, are necessary to supplement the best services that the government can render at every one of these points. But the best that private efforts can do is not good enough unless supplemented by the official service, because they are neither authoritative nor resourceful enough to carry the right policies on and out.

For the more effective reception, distribution and location of immigrants, there is needed a great increase of efficiency and co-operation in the work of our public agencies. The Federal Bureau of Immigration needs the active co-operation of state immigration bureaus. They in turn are either helpless or inadequate to start the immigrants coming to them, or to

protect them on the way, unless the federal safe-conduct is extended from ports of entry to the principal inland railway terminal points. The establishment of a receiving and distributing station at Chicago by the United States Bureau of Immigration sets a new type of service which is sorely needed and should be demanded at many more points.

The states should furnish information, and some of them have their official representatives at ports of entry, to help guide immigrants to the work on the land or in industries needing them. The co-operation of national and state departments of agriculture, free employment agencies, and commissioners of education with the federal and state bureaus of immigration could align a country-wide, inter-relationship of resources which might prove adequate to devise and carry out a truly national, internal immigration policy.

The National Conference of Immigration, Land and Labor officials has given fine initiative toward such a policy by forming a voluntary association, by calling for the help of others in carrying out their purpose and by recommending the main points which such an immigration policy must cover. They recommend the creation by the federal government of a separate bureau in the Department of Labor to be known as "The Bureau of Distribution." This bureau should supervise and protect immigrants in transit and facilitate their distribution at redistributing centers; should license and regulate ticket agencies; should encourage and promote state immigration bureaus; should fulfill the greatly enlarged function of the Division of Information now so unreasonably restricted, and thus vastly extend its work in furnishing information about land and industrial opportunities, in securing employment, in licensing and regulating employment agencies and land agents, and in securing the provision of loans and farm credits to settlers.

Minimum Standards of State Legislation Needed.

The most important suggestion of these public officials, which this Conference may well inspire its members to help carry out, is the establishment of minimum standards in state legislation and administration, below which no self-respecting

states or cities will be content to fall in protecting and promoting the interests of immigrants arriving and settling within their borders.

While we have well defined policies and elaborate legislation to safeguard and help our own people take care of themselves, who are best able to help themselves, we carelessly expose those "coming Americans" to every kind of peril from within and without, who are most helpless to protect or guide themselves. We have a protective tariff, professedly to maintain the standards of American labor, yet in construction camps and in our box-car colonies along our railways, we have no standards protecting the health, providing for the decent housing, or in any way promoting the well-being of our immigrant pioneer laborers. We have employers' liability and workingmen's compensation laws for Americans, yet some states debar the alien immigrant from suing for damages to health or life, which are wantonly exposed to disease, accident and death. We protect our women in some states from dangerous occupations and exhaustively long hours of labor, yet expose the immigrant mother to exhaustion and early death or invalidism by overwork and under pay in the sweatshops and in boarding the homeless men at our industrial centers and in our construction camps, often to the demoralization of family and child life. We promote thrift and furnish well protected savings banks for people who know enough to take advantage of them, yet we endanger the savings of immigrants by failing to bring their bankers under legal requirements. We complain of the unsteadiness and inefficiency of employes, and yet we start immigrants not only, but a very large proportion of our own citizens' children, on their industrial careers by forcing them into casual, seasonal, intermittent, blind-alley occupations. Our very instinct of self-preservation, as well as our humanity, should compel us to extend our provision for self-protection to the strangers within our gates, who if left unprotected, are sure to involve others and the body politic in the same perils to which we may wantonly expose them.

Nothing is more necessary to a national immigration policy than a minimum standard for all our states in their ef-

forts to distribute, protect and train for citizenship these coming Americans. To distribute them effectively there is the most imperative need of laws regulating the acquirement, disposition, tenure and use of the land. Land monopolies, land grafters and some land agents are playing a sinister part in defeating every good purpose in immigration. Canada is wisely acquiring official oversight not only of personal and public interests thus imperilled, but of the laying out of all sub-divisions, so that each such division shall have not less than five per cent. of its total area held as a "public reserve" for park and recreation purposes. We have waked to the need of laws preventing overcrowding and dangerously bad housing not any too early in our newest states, cities and towns, and in many of our oldest communities, all too late. All over our country, even in its sparsely settled prairie, mountain and coast regions, we are industriously creating the most dangerous condition, from which the cities and towns in our older states and in all Europe and Britain are in a life and death struggle to save themselves.

This Committee's inquiry into these conditions, relative to the present and prospective immigration in California, Oregon and Washington, makes Mr. Blanpied's main section of the report an imperative summons upon the coast states to adopt preventive measures and constructive policies to protect public welfare, as well as the immigrants, before the floodgates of the Panama Canal are opened.

Education and Moral Protection of Immigrants.

The training for citizenship most of all needs to be recognized, standardized and provided for in our educational system, by the co-operation of our national, state and local officials. The names and addresses of all children of school age arriving at ports of entry, should be forwarded to the school authorities of the localities where they locate. Our schooling of immigrants should adapt itself not only to their children, but to the adults. Schools of citizenship should be established and maintained by the joint efforts of boards of education and immigration bureaus. They should be conducted especially in the cities and at smaller industrial centers, including lumber

and construction camps, under principals and teachers especially skilled to inform and train foreigners in the legal requirements and civic duties imposed upon them by their residence or citizenship in America. Great is the injustice of holding strangers accountable for obedience to our health, compulsory schooling, child labor, peddling, and other local regulations, without making any effort to inform them of these requirements, to many of which they have never been subjected. As great is the injustice to American institutions and public safety of extending the rights and duties of voting citizenship to such multitudes of men and women, and of imposing the still greater exactions of the direct primary, the initiative, the referendum and the recall, without safeguarding these higher prerogatives of citizenship by a nation-wide training of men, women and children to exercise them. Standardized and uniform information, curriculum and text books for instruction in the methods of our government and for training all new voters in voting are the surest solvents of our internal immigration problems.

Preparatory to these broader policies and imperatively necessary to safeguard our present and incoming population, is the outlawing and destruction of segregated, commercialized, police-protected vice, the non-political control of the police departments, the non-partisan administration of our city and town governments, and public provision for the regulation of recreation.

The promise of American life is the greatest promissory note ever underwritten by any people. No such political, civic, social, moral, and religious obligation has ever been undertaken as to make good this promise, upon which so many people on all the earth have staked their last hope. So far, we have made this promise good, in part at least in the realization of the hopes of more people than have ever succeeded in other lands to which they have emigrated. But we have built better than we knew. For the reflex influence of America upon every fatherland whose sons and daughters have come to us, has advanced living and working conditions throughout the old world. The loss of many of their finest and strongest people by emigration to America, has stimulated every in-

dustrial nation in Europe to restrict emigration by improving the standards of living and the opportunities for advancement available to their wage earners. And every returning immigrant who goes back to the old home even for a visit, sets a new and better standard of dress, of dwelling, of diet, and labor.

In view of these facts, may we not reassure ourselves that in doing right by our foreign-born fellow citizens and in doing well by the world we will best restrict and assimilate our immigrants? Thus only will we keep faith with the peoples and reverence the trust reposed in the American people to hold and bear onward the ark of the covenant of the God of the whole earth.

THE IMMIGRANT IN THE WOODS.

Rev. John W. Beard, Hoquiam, Washington.

Down in the peninsula country we have two little cities on the harbor that will be united into one, a greater and a better city, and we will call it Seattle No. 2. I am glad to be here tonight because the people down on the harbor are interested in the immigrant from a two-fold standpoint—from the economic standpoint and the human standpoint. They are interested in him from the human standpoint because he is a man. There are 25,000 or 30,000 men in the lumber camps of this state, and 75% are foreign born. A large number of these are down in the Gray's Harbor country.

The reason I am here tonight is because those immigrants are men. They have red blood running through their veins the same as you and I have. Some have little children whom they love. Some have good pure women into whose eyes they look and say the word that is sweetest on the human tongue, the word of wife and mother. And after all, the economic and the humanitarian standpoints cannot be divorced. There is a toil that is religion, and there is religion that is toil; and if you divorce business from religion you have conjured up a monster that is heartless and ought to be killed as soon as possible. On the other hand, if you divorce religion from business you have a religion that is anaemic and not worth the having.

I have learned a few things of these men as I have found them in the packing houses, in the construction camps and in the logging camps. Out here you have only an embryonic immigration problem; but in a few years, unless you are careful, instead of building beautiful churches and great skyscrapers you will build soup-kitchens to feed the hungry

stomachs of the mob. And in place of progress and peace and plenty you will have commercial war and industrial strife and bloodshed.

I want to say for the immigrant that he is the most valuable asset this country has. We must think of him as a man. That seems trite, but it is farthest away from the American heart today thus to think of him. Some think of him only as cattle, something to be exploited, others think of him as some great menace, threatening to rob their little children of bread, while all the time he is a man with the light of love in his eyes and the glow of youth upon his cheek. I know him as a man, and I thank God that I can call him brother. Is a man like that worth conserving? You spend your millions to get your desert to bloom. You conserve your forests of timber as if a log was greater than a man. You conserve your icicles in Alaska. How do you conserve the immigrant boy and girl as you find them in the woods? Talk of the wealth you have in this world! Tear out the bowels of the earth; put it all into one balance and the least of these immigrant boys and girls into the other, and they will outweigh all the scales of wealth.

And I have found the immigrant very much of an American too. He is an American though he may have been here only a short time. The other day I heard two men talk. One was a Finn and he was telling about a strike in another camp where all the Finns left because the foreman of that camp had put some Montenegrins to eat at the same table with them. They said they didn't want to eat with a lot of dirty foreigners. That's American, isn't it? In another camp two Swedes and a Norwegian were quarreling. I asked what was the difference between the Swede and the Norwegian, and one said that a Swede is a Norwegian with his brains knocked out. I had a chance to hear some of their humor. The first time I went to the camp I told them I was a preacher and had come to hold a service for them. Several took it all right but a young Irishman said: "Sure, and you are a strange looking Moose to be running wild around here." Even when logs fall upon them and they are broken and bruised that humor does not desert them. I went into a hospital where lay a boy from Sweden whose leg had been crushed. I said: "How goes it, John?" He smiled and said: "Oh! I can't kick."

I believe our employers of labor in this state have learned a lesson, and most of their hearts have been touched with the thought of friendship and the feeling of brotherhood for the other man. They are trying to make conditions better. The sanitary conditions in these camps are better than they were two years ago. They are putting good food on the table and trying to give men as good wages as the business will stand. I don't know of a boy out in the woods, the poorest, unskilled laborer, but draws $2.65 a day. His food costs him $1.50, but a young man without a family can lay up something and in a short time start in business for himself on a wage like that.

Exploitation of Immigrants Deplorable.

But some of those boys are unmercifuliy exploited, and the curse of our city does it—the curse of your employment agents in your cities. There ought to be state regulation of employment agencies. But I believe most of our men are trying to be square with the immigrant as they hire him to labor.

There is the curse of white slavery; but I say that for every woman who is a white slave there are a hundred immigrant boys as badly cursed as she is. They are wrecking their lives with disease from that terrible curse. Yesterday one of those boys crawled a block and a half on his knees to the police station and asked to be taken in that he might have a place to die. That problem will curse the immigrant more than all the ill housing you can give him, and more than all the low wages.

Liquor is another of the immigrants' problems. The liquor interests send men into those camps with their liquor to keep those immigrants drinking even when they try to be sober, and they get them into town on pay day and get them drunk and rob them. I saw one the other day with a pair of logger shoes on. I had on a pair that cost $7.00. He said that his cost him $64.00 and he went on to explain, saying: "I drew my check and went down town to buy me a pair of shoes. But the saloon-keeper got my money. When I got back I had a pair of shoes but my check was gone." I know another immigrant boy who went to town with $8.00 to buy him a bed. He stayed three days and then came back and went in credit for the bed. Another boy drew his wages. He said he was going to straighten up and be a man once more. But one of those hounds of hell got hold of him with a drink, and a few days afterward the boy staggered back to camp, crawled into a bath tub and died. I preached his funeral sermon. The undertaker, the boarding house mistress, his little boy and myself were the only mourners. His poor wife over in Finland is now waiting for that little boy to come back. They have told you about the need of schools and of sanitation, and that is all right. But what those men need more than anything else is to be brothered. I wish you knew some of those boys from the land of Plato and Socrates, or some of those Italians from the Seven Hills of Rome where Cicero thundered his orations; or some of those German boys from the battlefield of Koenigsgraetz, or some of my Finn boys, every inch men. You would be glad to call them your brothers. And if you knew them as I do you would say the brothels of your city and the saloons must go. You may give a man all the good housing you please and even put more money into his pocket, but unless you touch his heart with the love of Jesus Christ you haven't made him a good man or a good citizen. One of the greatest curses in this country is the men who have good clothes and good homes and money in their pockets. But take even the lowest man and teach him

to know what it is to love Jesus Christ as his brother, and you have made a man out of him, a man worth while and a good citizen.

Yesterday, down at the harbor we had those boys in what we call the "splash." There were some contests, and one of the contests was the splicing of a cable. There were three cables in that contest, and the boys worked with great energy. One pair was in the lead and the look of victory was on their faces. All at once they stopped and threw down their tools. When asked to explain, one said that they had got the first strand started in wrong and so had to give up the contest. These immigrants come to us to make a new start in life, and if they get started wrong, sooner or later they will have to give up the contest. The result will be they will become a burden on the state, and a disgrace to themselves. It is up to us to see that they get started right.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN FEDERAL AND STATE OFFICIALS—CIVIC AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS.

J. K. Hart, Ph. D., University of Washington.

The problems of the immigrant, since the immigrant is a human being, cover the whole range of social interests, from the immediate and concrete to the most abstract and remotely theoretical. The interest of the members of a local community is usually centered upon some actual individual or group, whose presence raises questions of immediate and vital import to the community. The interest of (local) federal officials, on the other hand, may be determined by the attitudes of superiors 2,000 miles away; and these attitudes, in turn may have been determined by personal prejudices received from books, or by the demands of a lobby, made up now of members of a trades union, now of the far-seeing heads of a manufacturers association. Under ordinary circumstances, what can co-operation come to be?

I remember the case of a theological student who became interested in the negro problem. He had certain presuppositions to begin with; he worked those presuppositions to the limit; he determined to go to Africa to study the problem in its native setting. He said: "I know just what I shall find there; I already know the facts; but I do not intend to have it said of me that I did not dare to go to the bottom of this subject." Suppose a man with such attitude in a federal position having to deal with *any* question, what would *co-operation* with him mean? What *does* co-operation mean?

You say it means working together in a common cause, in mutual sympathy and toleration. But does it? Is there enough genuine democracy among us to make us capable of such mutual deference and esteem? In actual practice, does not co-operation usually become one or the other of two extremes; either I am constrained to do what you want done, or you are overwhelmed with my demand and do what I determine.

Take the question of conservation of resources,—and that is just what the immigration question itself is; there are two sides to the present problem of conservation. One of these is local, personal, practical, full of emotional stresses growing out of economic impulses, and so vividly concrete and immediate as to make calm discussion impossible. The other side of the question is general, impersonal, on the surface, at least, quite disinterested, and in some measure so remote and abstract as not to be worth discussion. Between such attitudes of mind, it becomes folly to talk about working together in mutual sympathy and toleration.

Take the situation that developed in reference to the Japanese question in California. Without touching upon the merits of the question itself, the *method* of the question may be profitably discussed. The outcome has not yet been disclosed, but the press dispatches seem to indicate that the efforts of the federal government to secure co-operation in the solution of the problem came to nothing. Here were involved the conflict of local prejudices and personal knowledge with certain impersonal national and international necessities; the dispute between a group interested in industrial development without regard to other elements in welfare and those who are interested in the more or less abstract question of the American standard of living; and the somewhat remote question as to whether a democrat or a progressive were the keener guesser and the more astute politician. Other elements were involved, but these are enough to show the difficulty of co-operation in actual practice, and the folly of talking about co-operation as if it were something that could be imported into a situation, like the peace pipe of the old Indian tribes.

Real Co-operation Needed.

Co-operation actually means, first of all, some understanding of all the elements in the problem, both those which are local, emotional and personal, and those which are more general, abstract and theoretical; it means ability to take time and effort to look over the claims of all parties to the problem; it means the democratization of attitude on both sides of the question, until each is willing to put all his demands into the general center of discussion, and then willing to accept the outcome as his share of the award. Men do not get together on great social problems like immigration by merely coming together in the name of "co-operation". Co-operation is too complex a process to be thus lightly entered into.

Take another illustration from the world of industry. The whole modern division of labor is a fair illustration of the inner meaning of co-operation. But the division of labor is not something that just *happens*. It is being worked out more and more completely, all the time. Take the so-called "jurisdictional strikes": here is a piece of work that must be done by somebody, in the building of a house: which one of the trades shall have it to do. The trades concerned do not agree. A strike is called. It is not a strike against the employer, or the boss,

or for wages, or shorter hours, or better conditions of work in the abstract. It is for the purpose of settling the basis upon which co-operation between those two trades can go on in the future without controversy. It is time spent for the sake of saving time. I know that not all such strikes have been for this purpose, but this is true of the true jurisdictional strike.

A leader of trades unions said in conversation the other day: "The very conditions of economic stress under which we live and work make it necessary for us to face our problems, to think them through even though they seem remote and abstract, and in this way we are learning, slowly, how to co-operate".

It has been so easy to escape our problems in the larger social field especially with reference to the immigrant. He was coming to us by the millions; but he was slipping down into the unobtrusive places and tasks of the world and we did not care to disturb his work, or our profits. We talked about co-operation, in a sentimental sort of a way, not daring to talk about it in earnest; for we have *always* had a suspicion that co-operation means utter democracy of life and attitude.

But now we are face to face with the bare facts. The immigrant can no longer slip down into those unobtrusive ways. He is learning his lesson of co-operation sooner than we. Thousands of men in a few weeks, to-day give over their old individualisms and line up in a great organization to fight for a better division of the labor and the results of the labor of the world. They have been schooled to co-operation. Their leaders are punished: that is our way of being co-operative. Their forces are depleted. That also is co-operation—the last great measure of devotion. Among them are men and women who could teach this nation what it means to live and to toil and suffer without personal hope all for the sake of the co-operative principles. But we, our officials and our leaders in industry and government, are too stupid and careless to see that here is the very stuff of the world of democratic aspiration, sacrifices and co-operation about which we talk so much. We seek for it afar, and it is about us all the time.

The Problematical Immigrant.

For what are the materials with which government has to deal? Before the high hopes of democracy shall have been realized co-operation must be secured in all the levels of our living. Here are the local elements that must learn co-operation. The immigrant is coming to us and he will affect the life and work of the trades unionists, the industrial leader, the business man, the farmer, the churches, our educational institutions, and all the other phases of our life. He will become something of a problem to the federal government, at least until he is safely landed and naturalized. He will be a problem to the state in which he lives and to the local community. He is human being with the characteristics of the human. He is more of a problem to-day, in many ways, than formerly because he comes from another part of Europe and speaks another language. But he is for all of us a resource, a blessing, a curse,

the hope of industry, the blight of free institutions, a menace to America, a barbarian from a degenerate social world, a member of the noblest race that ever lived, a son of the prophets, poets and artists of old, the scum of creation, and anything else that our imagination may paint him, or our immediate emotions may ascribe to him. Meanwhile, he is probably just a man, not so very different from the rest of us.

Now, co-operation *never takes place on the emotional level* that appears in the above enumeration. Men cannot co-operate while they are fuming with passion. They may swing into line and blindly carry through some project together, but it is not co-operation in the sense in which the word is here used. Nor on the other hand, do men co-operate when they are so superior as to have no understanding of or use for the common passions of other men. Here are the two extremes of immediacy and remoteness, in neither of which is there any real chance for lasting co-operation. Yet, in large measure the whole problem of immigration has been dealt with from one or the other of these extremes. And these extremes may be, at various times, in the same individual.

Is it possible for federal officials, state officials, local officials, employers of many men, trades unionists, preachers, farmers, teachers, business men, newspaper men, and let us say other representatives of the complex modern world, to get together around a table, look each other in the eyes like men, trust each other, put all cards up on the table, talk the subject through from start to finish, and come to some working agreement, some actual division of labor in this matter of immigration? If not, I do not see that there is any hope for co-operation that means much, and we shall have to stumble along with a few strong people (not strong enough however) bearing the burden of the whole: for in a democracy there is no power strong enough to bear the burdens of the whole except the strength of the whole. But, if such a complete gathering of all our forces were possible we might with gladness look ahead to the day when we should really reach a co-operative program, not merely with reference to the immigrant, but with reference to all the other human problems that now perplex and bewilder us: for in the long event, co-operation with reference to this problem will mean co-operation with reference to all and co-operation with reference to all means democracy, the great goal.

REPORT OF SPECIAL IMMIGRATION SURVEY OF THE PACIFIC COAST. (MADE UNDER DIRECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE.)

Charles W. Blanpied, Immigration Secretary Y. M. C. A., San Francisco, California.

In this report we have attempted to cover, as thoroughly as available information would permit, every phase of the immigrants' relation to the life of the Pacific Coast.

After stating in statistical form the composition of the population with something of the distribution of the immigrant and also showing the kind and percentage of immigration which we are receiving through Eastern ports of entry as well as through our own ports, we have attempted to set forth the meaning of the opening of the Panama Canal to the Pacific Coast as regards greater immigration. We have also taken up the need of increasing Federal equipment at ports of entry on the Coast.

A survey of the industrial situation has been made; we have studied housing and sanitation in relation to the immigrant; reported the opportunity for education and recreation for the new and yet unassimilated peoples, and also their need of protection from exploitation. We have also gathered data showing the immigrant's part in the social life of our states, especially as regards his dependency, defectiveness and delinquency. Last of all, we have tried to report, after feeling the pulse of the Coast, its attitude of mind toward the resident foreigner and the possible reception of an increased number coming via the Panama Canal.

Composition of Coast Population.

We shall first turn our attention to some statistics showing the composition of the population now on the Pacific Coast.

In 1910 the population per square mile in California was 15.3; in Oregon 8.9; and in Washington 17.1; Idaho had 3.9 persons per square mile; Nevada 0.7; Arizona 1.8, and Montana 2.6.

This shows some of the possibilities for development, especially when compared with the population of other countries. Italy, whose climate and products are much the same as those of California, and which is only two-thirds her size, maintains a population of thirty-five million. President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California estimates that we could cancel one-half the area of California as being mountain and desert and then support without difficulty forty millions of people. The possibilities of development in the Pacific Northwest and of the Back Country represented by Idaho, Utah, Nevada and Arizona are equally remarkable.

The percentage of foreign-born and their children for the seven large cities on the Pacific Coast is as follows: San Francisco 72; Los Angeles 46.6; Oakland 61; Portland 58.6; Seattle 54.6; Spokane 46.3, and Tacoma 55.7. It is interesting to note that 35 per cent. of all these foreign people are in San Francisco, 15 per cent. more are in Oakland; Los Angeles has 16.2 per cent.; Portland 10.7 per cent.; Seattle 11.6 per cent.; Spokane 6.5 per cent., and Tacoma 5.5 per cent. Thus one-half of all the foreign population in large cities on the Pacific Coast live about San Francisco Bay. One-third of California's foreign population are living about this Bay.

Of the entire population of Portland 24 per cent. are from northern European countries; 20 per cent. of San Francisco's entire population

are from countries in Northern Europe. In Seattle the countries of Northern Europe represent 16 per cent. of the whole; Tacoma has 14 per cent.; Oakland 13 per cent.; Spokane 11 per cent., while only 10 per cent. of Los Angeles' population are from Northern European countries. In San Francisco, the British and German predominate, of the Northern European countries. In the Pacific Northwest cities the Scandinavians are the most prominent. Nine per cent. of Tacoma's population are Scandinavians, while only 1.7 per cent. of Los Angeles and 3.4 per cent. of San Francisco is of this race. This is also true of Canadian people. San Francisco's population is only 1.5 per cent. Canadian, Los Angeles 0.7 per cent., while Seattle, Spokane and Tacoma have an average of 4 per cent. of their population from Canada.

On the other hand 7 per cent. of San Francisco's population are from countries of Southern Europe; Oakland has 6.4 per cent. of this class, while Los Angeles has only 3.8 per cent. In the Pacific Northwest also the percentage is small, Portland having 4.8 per cent., Tacoma 4.3 per cent., Seattle 3.8 per cent., and Spokane 2.8 per cent.

There are more Mexicans in Los Angeles than in all other cities of the Coast combined, representing about 6.6 per cent. of the entire population of the city. Oakland has the largest Portugese population of any city on the Coast, 9.6 per cent. of her population being of this race. One-half the Portugese in the United States are in California. In San Francisco 10.2 per cent. of the foreigners are Italians. Here also is found the largest percentage of Irish, 23.5 per cent. of her entire foreign population being of this nationality. She has also the largest German population, 20.9 per cent. being her quota. Fresno, California, has the largest percentage of Russians. Los Angeles, of the larger cities, contains the largest number of this nationality, 5.5 per cent. of her entire population being Russian, though San Francisco and Portland each have large colonies. There are about 3,000 Russian Jews in Seattle and nearly 500 Turkish Jews. In eight counties of Oregon, the Scandinavians represent the leading foreign nationality, with an average of 7 per cent. of the population; in eighteen counties Germans lead with 5.2 per cent. of the population.

The percentage of foreign-born whites in California in 1910 was 21.8 per cent. of the total population of the state; in Oregon 15.3 per cent., and in Washington 21.1 per cent.; Idaho had 12.4 per cent. foreign-born population; Nevada 22.1 per cent.; Arizona 22.9 per cent.; Montana 24.4 per cent., and Utah 17 per cent.

According to a survey made in Vancouver, British Columbia, through the Consuls, there were found to be in the city about 8000 Slavs, about three to four thousand Italians, fifteen to eighteen hundred Greeks and 7,000 Scandinavians. The Frenchman is the most illiterate and depraved of the foreigners in Vancouver, and though he numbers only about 1,000 souls, his evil influence is keenly felt in the city.

Victoria, British Columbia, is a typical British city and as yet has not to any extent been invaded by the people of continental Europe.

Immigration to the Pacific Coast States.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, 5.4 per cent., or 44,925 of the total number of immigrants admitted to the United States, gave their future residence as California, Oregon or Washington, the three states bordering on the Pacific Coast. Likewise, 5.4 per cent., or 18,805 of the Southern Europeans who entered America gave destination as one of these three states. 21,243, or 9 per cent. of the total of the Northern Europeans admitted came to the Coast. Of the Northern Europeans, the British represented 9.6 per cent. of the total British coming to the United States and continental Northern European countries 8.4 per cent. of their immigration.

Seventy-eight per cent. of Southern Europeans coming to the Pacific Coast States gave California as their future residence, while only 15 per cent. gave Washington and 7 per cent. Oregon. Forty per cent. of Northern Europeans coming to the Coast came to California, while 37 per cent. and 23 per cent. gave Washington and Oregon respectively as their state of future residence. Of the continental Northern Europeans, 41 per cent. came to California, while 43 per cent. came to Washington and 16 per cent. to Oregon. This larger percentage for the Pacific Northwest is accounted for by the larger percentage of Scandinavians who came into the Pacific Northwest country than to California, although this does not in any measure give the total immigration to the Pacific Northwest of the Scandinavian people, for the majority who come re immigrate from the North Central States.

Of the British who came, 54 per cent. were bound for California, 32 per cent. for Washington and 14 per cent. for Oregon. Finally, we find that of the total number giving destination to the three states, 64 per cent. of them were bound for California, 26 per cent. more for Washington, and only 10 per cent. for Oregon.

Emigration from the Pacific Coast States.

During the same time the percentage of aliens departing from the United States who gave the three Pacific Coast States as their last permanent residence, was considerably smaller than the percentage of those who arrived. Only 13,021, or 4 per cent. of the total leaving the United States, went out from these states. 3.1 per cent. of Southern Europeans, or 7,729; and 5 per cent. of Northern Europeans, or 2,665, gave the Coast States as their last permanent residence. Of the Northern Europeans, a larger per cent. of the British returned than of the people from continental Northern Europe.

Fifty per cent. of those leaving the Coast States left from California, while 27 per cent. left Washington, and 23 per cent. departed from Oregon. The percentage of Southern Europeans leaving California, Washington and Oregon was 53, 30 and 20 respectively, while the Northern Europeans' percentage was 50, 32 and 18 respectively. The total gain by direct immigration to these western states during this year was

31,904, or 6.4 per cent. of the total gain of the United States. The total gain for the states in the Western Division was 7.6 per cent. of the whole.

Immigration coming to the United States destined to the Pacific Coast has increased during the past three years. This increase has been more marked for California than in the Pacific Northwest. The gain of the Pacific Coast states by immigration for the year ending June 30, 1910, of professional men was 950, skilled laborers 6,317, farmers 6,695, and laborers 2,512.

Aliens Admitted Through Pacific Coast Ports.

The number of aliens admitted through the Pacific Coast ports during the two years ending June 30, 1912, were as follows: San Francisco district 7,377; Seattle district 3,971, making a total of 11,348. Immigrants departed during the same period of time from San Francisco number 6,592, making a gain of only 785. 2,273 departed from Seattle, making a gain of 1,698. The total gain of the country through the Pacific Coast ports was only 2,483. During the two years 1,622 applicants were debarred from the San Francisco port and 107 more were returned after landing. 281 were debarred from the Seattle district and 97 returned after landing.

It is interesting to note, in connection with this study, that 10,497 immigrants were admitted to the Hawaiian Islands during the above two years and only 2,044 departed, leaving a net gain of 8,453. Also, that 42,624 were admitted through Mexican ports while only 543 returned, during the same period of time. We thus gained 42,081 through the Mexican border ports, though the Pacific Coast states by no means received the total number, as many of them gave destination as the middle west and some even the extreme eastern states.

Deserting alien seamen during 1912 at San Francisco were 650, Seattle 462, a total of 1,120. Alien stowaways found on ships in San Francisco numbered 92, at Seattle 25, or 117 in all.

Prospective Immigration Through the Panama Canal.

A great deal is being said about the large amount of immigration which will pour through the Panama Canal after its opening in 1915. It is hard to know just how much faith one ought to have in these general statements. One thing seems certain, and that is if steamship lines ply between the Pacific Coast ports and Europe, a certain amount of immigration is bound to result. In this connection we are also told of the large number of steamship lines which are going to come through the new Canal. Inquiry made of harbor commissioners up and down the Coast reveals the fact that while a large number of companies have had advance agents on the ground looking over possible dockage, etc., still the fact remains that few companies have as yet contracted for such dockage space, so all that is said concerning either of these subjects is based entirely upon newspaper reports, these reports, in turn, being

based upon interviews with agents or officers of steamship lines. The following information is worthy of notice after the above explanation: Newspaper reports say that the Holland-American line will put on two new ships, that steamship companies in England are building five great steamers for canal traffic; the Hamburg-American line will run ten steamers and the Royal Steamship Company an equal number. The Scandinavian Steamship Company are planning to run five ships the Austria-American line three ships, Lloyd-Subado line six, Lloyd-Brizilliero line three, W. R. Grace & Company four; also that the International Mercantile Marine Company, the Luckenbach Company, the Russian-American Steamship line and the North German Lloyd Steamship Company will have ships docking at Pacific Coast ports.

Karl Barlein, an officer of the North German Lloyd Company, says: "The resources and possibilities of the Pacific Coast states are being well advertised in Germany, and steamship companies generally are laying their plans for putting on additional ships to take care of the canal trade. The first year after opening the canal will see the greatest number of departures of immigrants from Europe in history."

Another fact worthy of consideration is the report of a recent five million dollar contract to Cramp & Sons of Philadelphia for two large passenger vessels to ply between San Francisco and New York via the Panama Canal. Each vessel will be able to accommodate five hundred first-class, 180 second-class and four hundred steerage passengers. This brings to our attention the fact that without question a large number of immigrants will re-immigrate from the eastern states through the Canal to the Pacific Coast.

Lack of Facilities for Receiving Immigrants.

Outside of the Federal Immigration Station on Angel Island at San Francisco there is very little equipment at immigration ports of entry on the Pacific Coast. Seattle has her detention station, Portland has small quarters, and Tacoma a detention room at the Municipal Dock. All other work is carried on directly from the ships. At present there is no federal movement to increase the number of immigration stations, though there is considerable being said of the need of such new equipment. There is a total lack of preparation upon the part of the Government to care for immigrants in any increased number coming through the Panama Canal.

The Federal authorities have refused to consider immigration quarters at Los Angeles and at San Diego until they have some assurance that a large amount of immigration will come through the Panama Canal bound for these ports. The cities are taking up the matter, however, and will probably provide detention rooms at the Municipal Docks similar to the one in Tacoma.

The sentiment at San Francisco with regard to the enlargement of her immigration station is divided as to whether it should be enlarged at the present site on Angel Island, or be moved to the mainland. In

1909 a half million appropriation for Seattle passed the United States Senate and died in the House.

Unnecessary Leaks on the Borders.

It would be better if the service regulating immigration between Canada and the United States were centralized. The train and boat inspectors at Vancouver, Victoria, Blaine and Sumas take their orders from and report to the United States Immigration Commissioner at Montreal, Canada, while the inspectors on the American side report to the Seattle office. There are thousands of miles of poorly protected border.

There is need also, we believe, for closer patrol of the Mexican border and probably more stringent examination of Mexican applicants for admission into the United States. This need is felt the more keenly when we realize the amount of dependency and delinquency cases among the Mexicans in the southern part of California, most of which occurs among the recent arrivals in the country.

Another leak which should be effectively stopped comes from the Hawaiian Islands, from the port at Honolulu. This being an American province, no special medical or dependency test of people arriving from that territory is required as from immigrants arriving from foreign countries. Because of the few European people living in the Hawaiian Islands, it has been thought best not to be so strict about those who enter there. In this way the Hawaiian Islands serve in many cases as a depot where immigrants come, and after remaining awhile, re-immigrate to the United States. These people, especially the Porto Ricans and Spanish, constitute California's greatest foreign problem.

A Factor in American Industry.

From reports of various kinds from private organizations and also from state and federal pamphlets and especially from data gleaned from publications of the National Immigration Commission, we are able to show in condensed form something of the relation of the immigrant to the industrial and agricultural life of the Pacific Coast. Woven into the whole are bits of information gathered personally, not only from commercial men and industrial leaders, but from the workmen themselves.

Because of the limited time for gathering this data, we have picked out here and there certain examples of industry illustrative of the type of labor now at work, and the possible opportunities for other employments. Orientals are not included in this survey. This report has been made with one particular consideration in view, namely, the opening of the Panama Canal as a factor in the immigration problem on the Coast.

The following shows in a general way the places where the foreigner has established a foothold and is becoming a part of the industrial life of the community. In many cases he has brought in and established new industries, as the Spanish introduced the olive, the grape, the orange

and the lemon into California. It is worthy of note that 75 per cent. of all Italian farmers are in the western states, the large part of them in California.

In Santa Clara County, California, working in the garden seed and deciduous fruit industry the Italians form 2.3 per cent. of the workmen; 1.6 per cent. are Swedish who have re-immigrated from the north central states. The Italians also lease vegetable gardens about San Francisco and purchase the cherry crops on trees, their families gathering and marketing them. The Italians have been located on farms in Jackson county near Amador for a quarter of a century and have become prosperous. In the Pajaro Valley the Dalmatians who came in 1887 and found work as laborers in the orchards, today own most of the apple orchards in that valley. Greeks in small numbers drift from construction work into agricultural work, but as yet to a very small extent. In the Sacramento Valley we find a large number of Portugese, Italians and Greeks. Many of them, especially of the two former races, have taken up land either by purchasing or by lease.

Hop and Sugar Beet Raising.

Forty per cent. of all laborers engaged in wine-making in California are Italians. The English, Scotch, Italians, French, German and Scandinavians represent 43 per cent. of the total.

The hop industry in California depends largely on the floating population for laborers. The Germans predominate and are men who have come from the hop yards of Germany. In Oregon very little foreign labor is employed, as the people living in the cities do the work largely as vacation and excursion parties, whole families often spending vacations in this manner. In the sugar beet industry in California are found German-Russians and Portugese who have come through the Hawaiian Islands. This industry is important in California, ranking third in the country as to acreage, except in one or two localities where the handwork is done entirely by immigrant labor. The majority of these laborers are immigrants, including Mexicans, Italians, Portugese, Armenians, German-Russians and Dalmatians. In Southern California the Mexicans predominate. In one community in Northern California 80 per cent. are Armenians.

In the Vaca Valley we find that the seasonal laborers are mostly Italians. They are working for their own countrymen and many of them take up ranches in the foothills and work out during the busy seasons on ranches owned by their countrymen in the valley. About 225 Italian families are located in this place. Three hundred Spanish people have also gained a footing.

Fresno County presents one of the most unique demonstrations of what the immigrant is able to do by way of tilling the soil. This county offers abundant example of natural resources and is a particularly remarkable demonstration of what irrigation can do for a community. This county is very cosmopolitan as to population. The vari-

ous races have settled there from different parts of the world; have come at different times, with different motives and under different circumstances. The Italians have increased 100 per cent. in ten years; the Scandinavians number about 4,000.

German-Russian and Armenian Settlements.

Two nationalities stand out in particular, viz.: the German-Russian and the Armenians. The German-Russians are the most numerous; they are about 5,000 in number and came to this country from the banks of the Volga in search of better farm land, free from heavy taxation and also to flee from compulsory military service. The majority are common laborers, but their aim is to become established as farmers. The German-Russian women and children work at fruit-cutting and have gone into the factories in Fresno.

About one-half of the Armenians live in the city of Fresno and the other half in the surrounding country. This is the largest and only conspicuous Armenian settlement in the West. They readily establish themselves in business or on farms. They have at present a land tenure of 25,000 acres, owning three-fifths of it. They control about one-sixth of the acreage used for the production of raisin grapes in the country. They grow some fruit and about 10 per cent. of the watermelons shipped from this section.

Of 2,055 employees in industries about Fresno, 40 per cent. were found to be foreign-born. Of the foreign-born, 52 per cent. were Armenians, German-Russians and Italians. The women work in the packing houses, especially the fig and seeded raisin packing industry. Being strong, able to endure great strain and willing to work to the limit of their capacity, they are in great demand by employers.

In Southern California the Mexicans are employed as hand-workers. A very few own farms and a few more lease land. They are generally good horsemen and are often employed as teamsters. The Mexicans are largely of the common laboring classes. A survey of 1,928 of these laborers in Los Angeles revealed the fact that 277 were working as section hands on the railroad at an average wage of $1.25 per day; the other 651 were employed in other common labor at $1.75 per day.

Immigrants in Factories.

In eighteen canneries of California, statistics show that 61.5 per cent. of the wage-earners were foreign-born. Of this number 37 per cent. were from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Greece and Portugal. In the canneries of San Francisco the Italians are almost exclusively employed.

In the cotton mills of Oakland, California, a large percentage of laborers are Portugese. Out of a survey of 357 individuals 73 per cent. were of this nationality. Seven per cent. were Italians.

In the sewing trades of San Francisco, especially in the manufacture of shirts and overalls, the employees are largely women. Out of 833 only 39 were men. Sixty-one per cent. of these employees were of

native birth; of those of foreign parentage, 72 per cent. were from northern Europe. In the powder manufactories in California, in a survey of 734 individuals, 59 per cent. were foreign-born. Of the foreign-born, 75 per cent. were from Northern European countries.

The Immigrant and the Land.

The possibilities of the immigrant gaining a foothold on the land in the Pacific Northwest is worthy of notice. Most of those who finally settle on land came originally to take part in the lumber industry, or to work in the coal mines or construction camps. The Scandinavians, especially, have immigrated to this section in large numbers, the most of them, however, removing from the north central states. They take positions as laborers in lumber camps until such time as they can advance to skilled trades, or get possession of land and engage in agriculture.

The Austrians have come, and at present constitute between eight and ten per cent. of the foreign employees in lumber mills, although most of them are brought out to do construction work. From this they drift into the coal mines, smelters and become section hands on the railroads, and a few settle on land.

The Dalmatians show a preference for lumber mills, while the Croatians and Montenegrins work mostly in mining coal and maintenance-of-way on the railroads. Many Italians who came out to the Pacific Northwest to do construction work or labor in lumber industry, leave as soon as possible for agricultural and other work about Portland, Seattle and Tacoma.

The lumber industry of the Pacific Northwest uses a large percentage of immigrant labor. Until ten or fifteen years ago American-born labor and Germans were used in this industry, but in the past ten years the Germans and British have become comparatively fewer, while the Scandinavians, Finns, Russians, Austrians, Greeks and Italians have increased in proportion.

A survey of forty representative factories and mills in the city of Tacoma revealed the fact that of 3,148 men employed, 1,673 or 53 per cent. of them were of foreign birth. Of this 30 per cent. were Slavs, 9 per cent. Italians, 14 per cent. Greeks, or in all more than 50 per cent. of the foreign born were from Southern Europe; the others were from Germany and Great Britain. Of the 18,036 immigrant laborers employed by nine steam railway companies in the Pacific and Rocky Mountain States in the maintenance-of-way department, 27 per cent. of the total were Italians, 23 per cent. Greeks, 18 per cent. Mexicans and only 12 per cent. were of American birth. A survey of fourteen street railway companies on the Pacific Coast gives: 18,162 wage earners, 8,042 of whom were immigrants. In the coal mines of Washington, of 2,551 persons including thirty-five different races, 84.3 per cent. were found to be immigrants. Of this number 20.6 were Northern Europeans and 61.6 Southern Europeans.

Industrial Accidents.

During the years 1911 and 1912 there were thirty-nine fatalities and 570 non-fatal accidents in the coal mines of the state of Washington. Of the deaths only four were American born; ten were Austrians; eight Italians; two Montenegrins; four Slavs. The rest were of Northern European races. Of the non-fatal accidents, 45 per cent. were Slavs, 20 per cent. Italians and 80 per cent. of the total were of foreign birth. Twenty-seven per cent. of all deaths from accidents in the state were reported from the coal mines. Of fatal accidents in Washington during the year ending September 30, 1912, 30 per cent. were of foreign birth, or 279 in all. The nationalities having the largest death toll were,—Austrians, 28; Scandinavians, 41; Canadians, 15; Italians, 13.

Of the industries where death occurred the lumber industry gave the greatest death toll, which was 84, or 31 per cent. of all; 10 per cent. were in the coal mines; 10 per cent. more were in the saw mills, and 18 per cent. occurred in construction work.

Can Employment Be Found for More Immigrants?

The result of inquiries sent out from the California Development Board between March 1, 1912, and June 1, 1913, is of interest here. The question asking as to the need of labor was answered as follows: One hundred and sixty-one answered, outlook poor; 42 said that the outlook was good; 22 reported, outlook only fair; 107 said that for temporary labor the chances were poor; 57 thought them to be good, and 19, only fair. Forty stated that for permanent labor the chances were poor; 7 stated that they were good and 14 answered only fair. As to the opportunities for families to locate in agricultural labor, 14 stated that the opportunities were good; 31 said there were none, and 22 said there were "few opportunities."

Another questionaire was sent out asking responsible men about the demand for labor. Thirty-nine said there was no demand; 32 said the supply equalled the demand, and only 2 stated that there was demand for labor.

The most prominent prospects were found in the San Joaquin Valley, but this was because of the fact that certain questions were answered during the time of the maximum demand for labor. The showing on the whole is disappointing because it reveals a state of industral quiescence. It will thus be seen that California is little prepared to absorb a sudden influx of laborers. Because of the smaller home market and a population of less density, she is not able to support manufacturing industries and undertake great public works which give employment to large numbers of people.

The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce states that at this time the demand for Southern European labor is not very great. Immigrants will have prospects for work on land which will be opened for colonization. In this way they say they can use all the Northern European people

that come, but as far as agricultural prospects are concerned they see very little hope for Southern European labor.

So it would seem that in Southern California very little Southern European unskilled labor can be used. The iron and steel mills, which are in process of development at Torrence, will change the situation little as most of the labor there will be skilled. If the borax and cotton manufacturing is developed, it will open an avenue for Southern European labor, but these are yet only possibilities and based on uncertainty.

The model city at Torrence, in Los Angeles county, is suggestive of the possibilities of a large corporation so housing and helping its laborers that they may have proper home life. It is, however, as yet not adapted to handle the immigrant class of laborers, and can only be spoken of as illustrating the possibilities of such adaptation.

Back Country Not Ready for Immediate Settlement.

The development of the back country, Arizona, Nevada and Utah, by reclamation of desert lands, is the hope held out by many as the outlet for immigration labor. While this back country's possibility has never been told, it will take at least twenty-five years before an extensive population can be planted in this section of the country, because of the gigantic preparation necessary.

The agricultural opportunity is not only the most constructive outlet for immigrant labor, but also the place where the Pacific Coast people are willing to give the newcomer his greatest chance for success. The Forward to the Land League, an organization whose purpose is to get people back to the land, is giving much attention to this sort of work. The success of the Little Landers, under the direction of Mr. William E. Smythe, of Los Angeles, has been thought by some to be a solution, if adapted to the immigrant, of the land question. Cheap land near enough to the city to provide ready market for products of intensive farming is essential to this success.

The Italian-Swiss colony organized in 1881 is a good example of the possibilities of getting the people who are adapted to farm work on the soil. One thousand five hundred and fifty acres of land used to pasture 500 sheep were purchased at Asti in Sonoma County. There are thirty Italian families now living at Asti, the larger number of workers being single men. The chief industry is that of wine growing and manufacturing. This same company has vineyards in several other parts of the state. In all, 2,000 heads of Italian families are employed.

A one thousand acre ranch on the Columbia river has been divided into five-acre tracts, which are either sold outright, or may be acquired by working on the ranch. Seventeen families have already taken advantage of this opportunity. A school house has been built. An expert from the State Agricultural College at Corvallis gives instruction in farming and poultry raising. The families, however, are mostly of American extraction, though a few Italian families have taken advantage of the op-

portunity. This is suggestive of the possibilities of such work among the immigrant classes if the situation is adapted to them.

In the Imperial Valley south of Los Angeles, the cotton industry is in process of great development. Although at present the labor supply is largely of the negro race, there is some disposition on the part of employers to believe that Southern European labor of certain types can be used to advantage here.

A prominent lumberman is quoted as saying: "We are nearly always short of workmen and continually in search of employees who are competent. Naturally, and unfortunately, we have in the west the migratory element on account of the country being practically new and unsettled. Our only hope is to have families attached to the soil, which will provide workers for other occupations during the part of the year when such is in demand."

In order to meet this situation we must cut up our large holdings; lease and sell small tracts to newcomers ambitious to acquire property, and while developing and paying for their small farms they would provide hands for the neighboring farmers. We must secure men with families. We have been giving a bonus to corporations, but have never yet considered it worth while to offer a subsidy to people who want to get on to the land and establish homes.

Housing and Sanitation as Related to the Immigrant.

We have attempted in this study to ascertain how much of a housing problem exists on the Pacific Coast, to what extent this problem is affecting the immigrant and in what measure it is due to the presence of foreign speaking people.

We have heard the statement made so often that here in the west where there is plenty of room, we have no housing problem. In congratulating ourselves upon this point so long, we have failed to realize that in our very midst are growing up conditions which will ultimately become as bad as any in the country.

San Francisco.

In San Francisco the problems have become intensified during recent years because of conditions which confronted the city in rebuilding after the fire. Many of the Italians who owned their own homes on Telegraph Hill were the first to rebuild. Because of the demand for quick shelter and the absence of any prohibitive law, flats and tenements were built without the service of an architect, and even today we find these crudely designed shacks occupying the whole 100 per cent. of the lot.

Telegraph Hill is the most densely populated part of the city. For whole blocks the buildings cover most of the lot. This gives little breathing space between the houses, little opportunity for ventilation of inside rooms, to say nothing concerning the absence of light. On the first floor and in the basement, artificial light is required during the whole of the day, the front room being often times the only light room in the house. In many cases the same window opening out on undersized

courts will ventilate both the bedrooms and the toilet. The absence of a yard is a great hardship, as clothes lines must either be on the roof, or in the living room, and garbage cans must be on the back stairs close to the only window which affords ventilation to the house. For economy, two families often rent a three-room tenement, occupying the kitchen, the only light room, in common, each family crowding into one dark bed room. As high as six or eight people have been found sleeping in the same room. One Spanish family of six were found sleeping, cooking and eating in one dark room. The only play ground in such a home is the bed, or outside of the house, the dirty street.

In the Mission District the problem is of a different nature. Houses which formerly were built for one family have been cut up into apartments for the occupancy of more than one family. Sometimes the transom leading from the door into the hallway will be the only source of ventilation and light. Of 78 apartments in this district, from 46 per cent. to 60 per cent. were in buildings which occupied 85 per cent. of the lot, 32 were in buildings occupying 90 per cent of the lot. The overhanging porches of the upper flats, which take up the space that ought to be the yard, are a problem in this district.

On Knob Hill a situation prevails which, at the present time, does not cause much alarm because most people refuse to live in the houses there. They were built immediately after the fire and are being rented now for one-half the former price. This, however, will become one of the worst housing districts as the city grows and other people come in who cannot pay the rents required in the better parts of the city. We should call this, as is also the case in the Mission District, more of a potential housing problem than one which already exists.

In the Potrero Section we find another situation. Here the Russians and Italians for the most part own their own homes. The houses, crudely built by their occupants, have plenty of yard space, but designed for only one family, most of the houses have two and sometimes even three families making their homes in them. The problem is not so much that of the need of ventilation or light as of sanitation. These buildings have gone in ahead of city improvements; therefore, the sewers are running on the surface of the ground, stagnating in filthy pools about this section of the city, and causing much danger to the health of the community. Also, the absence of plumbing makes necessary the old type of privy vault, which is an added menace.

In all these crowded sections of the city because of the high cost of living, the rooms are sub-let to help pay the rent. This crowds the family into one or two rooms oftentimes. Among the Italians, Slavonians, Mexicans and Spanish-speaking people this practice especially prevails. This condition is detrimental to health and morals.

Other California Cities.

Outside of San Francisco, the poorer people are not in any considerable number housed in tenements. Tenements are, as a rule, apartments

built for the fairly well-to-do, and are rented for a substantial sum of money. In Los Angeles the predominating problem at present is that of the house court. There are 775 of them. They are occupied largely by Mexicans, Italians and some by Russians and Slavs. The Mexicans have settled in colonies, as have the Italians. The yard toilet is used in many courts and often serves several families. The Russians, better known as the Molokani, a religious sect, live in houses built for one family, though they are crowded together oftentimes with two or more families to the house. In Oakland we find no serious tenement housing problems, except in the business dirstricts over stores, yet the single house in west Oakland presents potentially as serious a problem as anywhere on the coast. Even now two or three families are crowding into these single family houses.

Outside of the larger cities in California, we find this same overcrowding of families into single houses and shacks. In Sacramento many of the foreign people live in this way, as also in Fresno and San Diego. In Stockton the chief problem comes from the house boats occupied by Irish and Spanish fishermen. We find also the housing problem emphasized from another angle in the smaller cities of the state. San Leandro, a suburb of Oakland, where the majority of the Portugese live, is an example in point. Here in one of the most beautiful spots on the Pacific Coast, where fresh air is plentiful and where nature wears her most verdant robe, we found the worst housing conditions existing on the Coast. The people here live in houses furnished with boxes for tables and chairs. Many new arrivals sleep on the floor; here also because of the high prices paid for rent, more than one family must live in the same house. The houses are old and leaky. The lack of proper cooking utensils makes the serving of clean food almost an impossibility, and lack of general water supply causes yard toilet and cess pool nuisances. Out of 21 families surveyed at San Leandro only six had sufficient beds for their families, and of the six some were made on the floor.

One of the most unique places studied was that known as Cody's Camp. Cody is a Portuguese, whose wife is a German. They have made every available shelter on the premises ready for tenants. The basement of his own home has been divided into four rooms, three families occupying the same, with no furniture, sleeping on straw, or as in one case, rusty springs set on the cement floor. The granary was turned into a home for four; the bedroom being just large enough for one large and one single bed. The kitchen was very small; meat had to be hung on rafters which served flies as a base from which to play about the children's heads, which were afflicted with scalp disease. There were as high as six single men sleeping in one room on the granary attic floor. The old wind mill was turned into a rooming house with double deck rooms. A Porto Rican family, the mother nineteen years old and her four children, her husband and mother were living in two small rooms.

Everywhere was evidence that the present standard of living was below the people's ideal. Here and there one would see flowers in improvised vases set on dirty boxes with soiled coverings. In other places the yards were swept clean or floors were scrubbed, showing that an attempt had been made at being decent, and proving that if given an opportunity standards would be higher. Flies were everywhere, yet at one house a mosquito bar was over the baby's cradle made of a mush box. These people, because of seasonal work, have no chance to earn a living the year through; therefore, when winter comes problems grow tense and the health of the entire community is menaced.

Portland, Seattle and Tacoma.

Portland, Oregon, presents some rather serious situations, although as yet not alarming. North Portland, South Portland and the lower Albina District are the three general parts of the city in which the houses, more than the ground-space are overcrowded. This makes the problem not one of air or light so much as of sanitation, and moral effect upon family life. The houses are old and decayed, oftentimes roughly built years ago to accommodate a single family. In the lower Albina district are many dark bedrooms. Absence of plumbing adds to the nuisance of the yard toilet. A recent housing survey has revealed the astonishing fact that out of 2,500 rooms surveyed in the city, one-fifth of them were windowless and dark. All this in a city with less than seven persons to the acre.

In Seattle the Ballard District, Swede Hollow, the districts below Yesler Way and in Rainier Valley, present conditions such as we found in Portland, though not so intensified. Seattle is a roomy city and her housing problems may be said to be only potential, but situations will grow as bad as any on the Coast if allowed to continue as the population increases.

Tacoma, with her Old Town, East Side, and the districts in South Tacoma and at Ruston, has also this same potential housing situation. In both of these cities we find the over-crowding in house space of more families than houses were designed to accommodate. In the Grays Harbor district, in Everett and in Bellingham, as also in Astoria, Oregon, we find the foreign people crowded together much more than they ought to be where there is so much room. Even places like Carbonado, a mining camp in Washington, where only a few hundred people live, there are no yards or garden plots, and the homes are simply rows of shacks.

Summing it all up, then, we find that San Francisco does have at this time a tenement house problem, as well as over-crowding into houses built for one family. Los Angeles has the house court and shack intensified, as well as over-crowded single family house, which is the problem in Oakland and most of the smaller California cities, and in Portland and Astoria, in Oregon, and in Washington from the largest city to the mining camp towns.

When compared with the congested conditions of the east this picture does not seem very dark, but when compared with the amount of room we have on the Pacific Coast it shows how negligent we have been regarding the kind of homes in which our people should live. Most of all we have failed to see the evils which will surely ensue from such conditions.

The Cheap Lodging House.

Another very serious problem is that of the lodging house. In the cheap and unsanitary lodging houses south of Market street in San Francisco, those in the crowded districts of Los Angeles, Oakland and Sacramento, those in North Portland and below Yesler Way in Seattle, are some of the most intensive housing and sanitation problems on the Coast. While the majority of customers in these lodging houses are not foreigners, but rather the American shifting class, yet they are the places to which a foreigner easily finds his way, if not guided into better surroundings. Rarely did we find new arrivals in those parts of the city, or in their saloons and vice districts, yet we found aliens who had been in this country for several years and who understood enough English to get along fairly well, frequenting those sections where disease and crime are rampant.

The worst part of the cheap lodging house situation, however, is the fact that some are managed by philanthropic institutions, whose loose management causes conditions destructive of the ideals for which the institutions stand. Others are managed on a purely commercial basis. In either case money is easily made from the cheap lodging house. In one place we found 110 beds at 15 cents each and 76 rooms at 25 cents each. During at least five to seven months of the year this capacity is completely taken. The amount taken in represents $1,000 per month. The total expense was only $439 per month, including every item, so we see that it was a rare business proposition.

In one city 400 men were found sleeping in four houses; 153 paid 10 cents a bed; 122, 15 cents; 56 had rooms at 20 cents each, and 54 paid 25 cents each for a room. In another place where beds sold for 10 cents we found that 6 per cent. interest on $23,500 must needs be paid to the church and banks. They also boasted of the large amount of mercy work done, and that receipts of beds covered all these expenses. In other words, the man paying 10 cents a night, or $3 a month for an unsanitary and unhealthful place to sleep paid for those other things rather than for clean linen, fresh air and decent toilets and wash rooms. The common towel, drinking cup and wash basin, are in general use in these houses.

Some of the inmates of these places are human wrecks, old and young, diseased or habitual drunkards; others who have failed in the struggle for existence and those who from the beginning were never able mentally or physically to compete with their fellow men, their condition making it all the more urgent that they be compelled to live in more sanitary environment.

Housing Awakening Promising.

However, a hopeful note is everywhere found on the Pacific Coast. Private citizens and organizations are at work making our cities not only more beautiful, but places in which people can live better and happier lives.

The State Housing Law of California recently passed by the legislature has given better means with which to prevent further congestion, and also the opportunity to do away with present evil conditions. The State Board of Health has been given more definite power in forcing alterations and in condemning tenement houses. This in San Francisco is a great boon, as the main housing problem there has come because of the houses built prior to the housing laws enacted after the fire. The section quoted here from the new housing law will illustrate the point:

> Section 77. No room in a tenement house erected prior to the passage of this Act shall hereafter be occupied for sleeping purposes, unless it shall have a window opening directly upon the street or upon a yard not less than ten feet deep, or above the roof of an adjoining building or upon a court of not less than twenty square feet in area, open to the sky without roof or sky-light, unless such room is located on the top floor and is adequately lighted and ventilated by a sky-light opening directly to the outer air, or is on the top floor and has a window upon a court not less than ten square feet in area and not more than three feet below the top of the walls of said court . . . not used for sleeping purposes, shall be provided with a sash window, opening into an adjoining room in the same apartment, which latter room either opens directly on the street or on a yard of the above dimensions.

The Housing Commission in San Francisco, a private organization, has done invaluable service in getting before the people the conditions which should be remedied. Though San Francisco as yet has no housing inspection except from the Health Department, recent developments show that there will be such inspection in the near future. Los Angeles, up to this year, had supervision only over the house courts, but now by city ordinance they have supervision over tenements and shacks as well. Other parts of the state are absolutely dependent upon the State Health Department; city ordinances assisting this department are yet to be enacted. In every place however, the people are asking the question: "What can we do to get rid of the bad conditions already existing, and how can we prevent further congestion?"

In Portland a survey of housing conditions has just been made with the definite purpose of gaining better supervision over housing conditions in that city. Seattle's law gives her supervision over any place occupied by two or more families. This is indeed a fine tool with which to prevent bad conditions in this city.

We do not believe that the cities in the Pacific Northwest need ever have conditions which we know exist in the eastern cities, nor need they have even as bad conditions as confront some of the older California cities.

In California the State Immigration and Housing Commission will be the agency, without doubt, of doing away with such conditions in the state, not only in the large cities, but in the smaller ones, even in the construction camps, where conditions are so terrible.

Pacific Coast people are rapidly coming to believe that it is as much their business to make cities fit to live in as beautiful.

The Education of the Immigrant.

The percentage of illiterates in the principal Pacific Coast cities is as follows: Oakland 3, San Francisco 2.1, Los Angeles 1.9, Tacoma 1.65, Spokane 1.28 and Seattle 1.08. The following information taken from the Immigration Commission Report shows literacy in their mother tongue of the following nationalities: North Italy, 95 per cent.; Armenians, 94.7 per cent.; Greeks, 91.9 per cent.; Germans, 87 per cent.; South Italians, 63.3 per cent.; Mexicans, 50.5 per cent.; Portuguese, 41.4 per cent.; of the female literates in their native language, Armenians, 77.4 per cent.; German, 70.8 per cent.; Southern Italy, 44.3 per cent.; Mexican, 28.6 per cent.

Of data gathered from 157 Mexicans in Los Angeles, of whom 91 were men, only 19 per cent. of the men could speak English, and only 3 per cent. of the women; 18 per cent. were literates in Spanish. Italians and Greeks show 21 per cent. who cannot read English. One-fifth of those represented in agricultural pursuits can read or write English. Nine-tenths were literate in their mother tongue.

Of 300 adult aliens, representing sixteen nationalities, who were attending night school in Tacoma two years ago, 15 per cent. had never attended school prior to emigration, 13 per cent, had been in school two years, 33 per cent. six years, 31 per cent. eight years, and 8 per cent. had attended ten years or more. Thus we see that 72 per cent had attended school six or more years in their native land.

The percentage of naturalized foreigners of the total number of foreign-born males of voting age in Spokane is 44.5, Seattle is 45, Tacoma 47.5, Los Angeles 49, San Francisco 48, Oakland 52. The per cent. of foreign-born living in the rural districts in the Pacific Northwest are 42, in California 36. The registration books in Tacoma in 1910 revealed the fact that 23 per cent. of the total number registered were foreign-born, while the percentage of naturalized foreigners in the total male population of voting age was 18 per cent. This shows that more naturalized citizens than those of native birth were interested in citizenship sufficiently to register. Arizona is the only state in the western division where foreigners may vote before becoming naturalized citizens.

During the year ending June 30, 1912, 3,224 certificates of naturalization were issued in California. This represented 74 per cent. of the number of petitions presented for naturalization, and only 45 per cent. of the number who declared their intentions to become citizens. In Oregon 425 certificates were issued which represented only 49 per cent.

of the petitions for naturalization and 20 per cent. of those who declared their first intentions. In Washington, 1,667 certificates were issued, which was 70 per cent. of the petitions and 39 per cent. of the original declarations-of-intention. Thus of a total in the three states of 13,501 who declared their intentions originally, only 56 per cent. petitioned for final naturalization papers, and of this number 70 per cent. were granted naturalization certificates.

Very few Mexicans take out naturalization papers. They show little interest in civic affairs and usually regard the United States as a temporary residence. Of eighty-four Scandinavians questioned, all but three were citizens. Out of twenty-five German-Russians, eleven were still alien; 9 out of 15 Portuguese; 54 out of 60 Italians were yet unnaturalized.

Evidences of Rapid Assimilation.

To indicate how the newcomers are assimilated into our life the following facts are of interest: Out of 147 Scandinavian and German households, 132 had subscribed for some English newspaper; of 115 Italians only 34 were receiving an English newspaper, while 24 took Italian newspapers; but 57 received no newspaper at all. Some of the Armenians in Fresno have started libraries, and the German-Russians and Armenians have established parochial schools in which they teach their native religion and history. The ability of the foreigner to save money is shown by the report of the Postal Savings Bank in Tacoma. Out of 1,344 persons who opened accounts 44 per cent were by people of foreign birth. The average deposited by the American was $98, while that of the foreigner was $140.

Schools Should Be Adapted to Foreign Children.

The educational phase of this survey raises this question: To what extent does the presence of a group of foreign people in a city or community cause the people and school officials to consider ways of adapting education to meet their needs? This involves two groups of people, first the children of foreign parentage, second the adult alien. On the whole we have found that while there are several communities where a large percentage of foreign speaking people live and where the children attending school are of foreign parentage, there has been little direct thought given to adapting educational methods to their needs.

The need of adapting our schooling to foreign children who need to be taught differently from children under native environment is obvious. There is not a city on the Coast of any considerable size where schools should not make this adaptation, yet we have found very few school men who have given the subject any attention whatever.

In Oakland, where a special school is set apart for retarded and sub-normal children, it is found that 66 per cent. were foreign-born, and that these children had not been able to keep up with the average children in the city schools. Yet it was found that as soon as they

learned to speak English and understand the ways of this country, most of them were no longer below grade. Two or three hundred of the children in Oakland are mentally incapable of supporting themselves, 72 per cent. of these are children of foreign parentage, while only 48 per cent. of the school children in Oakland are of foreign parents.

Some of the school districts in the camps need special consideration. To illustrate, in Burnett, Washington, a coal mining camp, of a total enrollment of 130, 95 per cent. were of foreign parentage; of these 35 were Austrian children, 20 were Italians, 15 were from other Southern European countries, 46 were Finns. The teacher in this school took a circulating library back and forth from Tacoma. One Slovak boy fourteen years old read 73 out of the 85 books taken into this school during the winter.

In the Pacific Northwest cities we find a comparatively small percentage of children attending schools whose parents are from Southern Europe, the Scandinavian, German and British children predominating. In Tacoma the nationalities in order of number of children attending school are Scandinavian, British, German, Canadian, Austrian, Polish, Italian, Russian. This is a fair example of all of the larger cities in the Pacific Northwest.

In California we find a larger percentage of foreign children attending the schools. Out of 3,294 school children in Fresno, 1,814 are foreign born. In San Francisco we find school districts where Italians predominate. In Oakland the Portuguese give a large percentage of the school enrollment. In Los Angeles, Mexicans, Italians and Russians, of the foreign children, predominate.

Special Type of School Needed.

The adult alien's need of education in English, in citizenship and in American ideals, has been given very little consideration. The public schools in most large cities have permitted foreign adults to come to their evening sessions, and special English classes have been formed for their benefit. The purpose of these evening classes, however, has been to advance the American workman in some line of training for industrial efficiency. Oftentimes classes in English or grammar have included both the American child and the adult alien. This has been disastrous to the foreigner and he will soon cease to come to the class where he is put to such disadvantage. Such classes must often be taken to those who need them most.

In San Francisco the total enrollment of the evening schools during the past year was 6,857. Of this number 1,927 were of foreign birth, 441 of whom were women. The school of home economics is largely attended by foreign girls who are taught cooking, sewing, dressmaking and millinery. The greater percentage of this 1,927 did not attend in order to learn English, but to take some other subjects. The only evening school in San Francisco which is established by the city for the express purpose of teaching adult aliens English is the one on Potrero

Hill, for the Russians. This school has prospered largely because it has the system of teaching and the type of teacher adapted to the adult alien mind and needs.

This Need Supplied in Los Angeles.

Los Angeles furnishes probably the best demonstration of the possibilities of work among the adult aliens in the city schools. Here they have in foreign communities classes expressly prepared and adapted for the adult alien. In one school 179 of several nationalities were enrolled in different classes. In two other communities the Italians and Mexicans were attending English classes in large numbers. These schools are organized entirely for the adult foreigner. In other districts, however, separate English classes are held where need has arisen. One of the best features of these Los Angeles schools has been their classes in citizenship, and the Civic Club at the High School which is made up of those who have become naturalized.

In Oakland the night schools are not especially adapted for the foreigner, though, as in San Francisco, classes in English are held wherever a group of foreigners come to the building. The large masses of adult aliens in California are not reached in any way by the city schools.

Schools in the Northwest.

There were three night schools in Portland during the last year in which classes in English for the foreigners were held. The total enrollment in these three schools reached 195.

Tacoma, during the past year, has had in her evening schools, a total enrollment of 2,420. Of this 566 were in English classes for foreigners, 387 men and 179 women. The average attendance for the men, however, was only 10.4 and of the women 6.1. This shows how wofully inadequate was the work, for of the 566 foreigners, who enrolled, for some reason or other, few of them kept up their attendance. Then too, of this 2,420, 1,097 were foreign born, showing that 531 attended classes other than English for foreigners; that is, this number had already learned English. One hundred of them had come from Great Britain and were not of the non-English speaking people. Six hundred and forty-eight more came from Northern European countries and only 104 from Southern Europe. Thus we see again how the people who most need instruction in the English language have not taken advantage of the night schools in Tacoma.

In Seattle the situation is much the same as in Tacoma, although not as much attention has been given to this particular work. Only five classes for teaching adult foreigners English were in operation in the city schools during the past year. Of this the report says that "the larger number were from the high school type of foreigner, one-third of whom were taking English preparatory to entering the high school or university." This shows that the real need has not been met. In Aberdeen, Washington, during the years 1911 and 1912 there were main-

tained in the high school English classes for foreigners in that city with 300 in attendance. It presents one of the best illustrations of what a smaller city can do when public sentiment is aroused to the point of action.

Special Work of the Y. M. C. A.

The Young Men's Christian Association located in all of the larger cities on the Pacific Coast have classes in English for foreigners in connection with their educational departments, to which a few of the most ambitious foreigners find their way.

In Tacoma, during the years 1911 and 1912, however, special emphasis was put upon this type of work, not only in the central building but in the extension classes about the city, going to the locality and exact habitat, oftentimes of the people who needed English. In all twenty-two classes were conducted with an enrollment of 476, including twenty-four different nationalities. This work has also, during the past year, been carried forward in San Francisco under the direction of the Immigration Department of the Young Men's Christian Association. More than 300 adult aliens have been in fourteen English classes in different parts of the city. Likewise in Berkeley, the University Association has carried on such extension work, as also did the Association in Portland during the past year.

Other Associations on the Coast are preparing to extend this type of work. However as soon as the city schools develop an adequate work, for adult foreigners, not only opening the school buildings to them, but also letting them know they are welcome, adopting a system of teaching adapted to the adult mind, then the private agencies, such as the Y. M. C. A., will no longer have as great need for emphasizing this type of work. Outside of these two general movements, the public school and the Y. M. C. A., we find little attention being given to educating the adult alien on the Pacific Coast.

The State Normal school officials in California show their willingness to train teachers for this special type of work among adult aliens, and also for work in the public schools where children of foreign parentage attend. The University of California also is offering such terms.

The Immigrants' Opportunity for Recreation.

We have also tried to find out just what plans are being made to furnish the foreign people of the cities facilities for proper recreation.

In Los Angeles, Dr. Dana Bartlett's slogan, "Recreation should be as free as education," is finding some response, especially in the schools. In two centers, in the heart of the foreign section, we find recreation adapted to the young people of the community, and play grounds with adequate supervision for the children of the neighborhood on the school premises. There are school sewing and trade schools, folk dances, and, once a week, neighborhood dances for adults. Small beginnings for gymnasium equipment have been made. One of the best aids to the

life of the local community is the Utah Street School where Russians predominate. A model housekeeping room is fitted up as a part of the school equipment, and the girls take their turns keeping this in order. On the school ground is also found a day nursery for babies whose mothers are at work, thus obviating the need of older children staying at home to take care of babies. A neighborhood center is conducted at the High School, but except on Recognition Day twice a year for newly naturalized citizens, it has had little success in drawing foreign speaking people. While the children of foreign parents enjoy the recreation centers in two districts, adults have not learned to use them, the supervision not having been adapted to their needs sufficiently to cause them to feel either welcome or interested.

The playgrounds in San Francisco in three communities where foreign children predominate, are fitted up fairly well for their use, although there is no provision anywhere for adult recreation. The parks are extensive, and of course all people have equal rights to their privileges, but it is known that many of those most needing open air and space do not take advantage of them. Most people in America have heard of Golden Gate Park, yet, when ninety-three adult Russians were asked: "Have you visited Golden Gate Park?" 66 per cent. answered "No". Of the children questioned, 63 per cent. of them had never been to the Park. Most of these people had lived in San Francisco for six years or more, yet some had never heard of the existence of this great park. This shows a lack of effort on the part of the city to put the neediest part of its population in touch with such excellent places of recreation. Of eight private organizations in San Francisco, questioned as to recreational features of their work, three were working entirely among Americans, three for what they termed the better class of foreigners, and only two were working in districts where the Southern Europeans live, the people most in need of attention in this regard.

In Portland, where the population is only 6.5 persons per acre, one would think that recreation was amply provided for, yet in the three districts where the foreign population is greatest, we find little or no play provisions, or park space suitable for recreation. A count of the children in two of the crowded foreign districts was made in two sections of the city to ascertain where they played. In one district 80 per cent were on the street, 19 per cent. in yards and one per cent. in vacant lots. In another district, 60 per cent. were on the street, the remaining 40 per cent. in yards and lots. In other cities of Washington, as in Portland, where there are a goodly number of parks and some playgrounds, they are not as yet located in sections of the city which most need them and the supervision and kind of recreation are not adapted to these people.

The Protection of the Immigrant.

To the need of protecting the foreign people already here from graft, chicanery and exploitation of all kinds, the people of the Pacific

Coast have given very little attention. However, there are a considerable number of institutions both public and private which are alert to the situation which they feel will present itself at the opening of the Panama Canal when steerage and second class passengers will land at Pacific Coast ports.

The California Immigration and Housing Commission will be an important factor in this protective work. There are various private organizations, religious and philanthropic, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, with its international program for the protection of the immigrant, the Young Women's Christian Association through its Travelers' Aid, and the Hebrew and Catholic Protective Societies, all of which are doing useful work along these lines. Agencies have been started among the women's clubs of Alameda County, California, providing for the reception of new arrivals, and the California and Washington Daughters of the American Revolution have taken steps towards the distribution of literature for their benefit. The Patronato Emigranti, until recently was quite an effective organization financed by the Italian Government for the protection of Italians in San Francisco. This has recently been discontinued, however, but it is to be hoped that the work will again be taken up in some form. Societies among the foreign people themselves will do something of this work, but the outstanding need of a protective program is for a central body like California's Immigration Commission, with power to investigate conditions and create public sentiment, to safeguard the immigrant from exploitation.

There are two classes of assimilative processes. The one is the great nether world, or as we call it, the slum,—the open door of the saloon, districts of vice and of idleness, the unsanitary lodging house, the unwholesome environment of the construction and logging camp. All these are places of intense democracy, to reach which requires no struggle whatever and needs only a lack of application on the part of the new arrival to attain better things. The other assimilative process which the better class of society stands for, is reached only through a protective program that will point out the way and stand guard against graft and chicanery.

We shall benefit from the influx of people from the Atlantic Coast and abroad in proportion as we take care of the people who come to us. When the first shipload arrives on our shores, if they are left to drift heedlesly, on the one hand into hardship and poverty, and on the other hand into the hands of real estate sharks and exploiters, then the good we hope to derive from this safe-guarded immigration will be lost.

Social Relations of the Immigrant. Dependent Children.

Of the 8,397 children, orphans and half orphans, receiving aid in California during the year 1912, the fathers of 14.2 per cent of the whole were unknown. Of the known fathers, 17 per cent. were native Californians and 27 per cent. more were born in the United States outside of California, making a total of 44 per cent. American born fathers.

Forty-two per cent. of the children had foreign fathers, 9 per cent. of whom were British, 4.7 per cent. German, 3.7 per cent. Scandinavians, 19.8 per cent. of all were from the principal Northern European countries. Canadians represented only 1.2 per cent. Of the Southern European races, Italians ranked first with 8 per cent.; 3.3 per cent. were Russians; 2 per cent. Spanish; 2 per cent. Portuguese and 1.6 per cent. were from Austria. Five and six-tenths per cent. of the fathers were Mexicans, their children coming largely from the southern part of the State.

Charity Work Among Immigrants.

Dependent immigrants helped by the associated charities and benevolent associations of the Pacific Coast should be considered. The Associated Charities of San Francisco gives much attention, not only to relief cases, but also to the causes of dependency in order to work out a constructive program of prevention. Portland, Oregon, has recently re-organized her charities and the outlook is extremely hopeful for a good approach to these problems in that city. In Seattle, as in San Francisco, the Associated Charities work stands not only for relief, but also for constructive philanthropy. In smaller cities the work has not developed much beyond the relief stage.

In the relief department of the San Francisco Associated Charities during the past year, 1,123 families were assisted. Of this number 48 per cent. were foreign-born. The significant fact stands out in their report that a large majority of these foreign-born families had been in the United States five years or more. This statement was true of all nationalities except the Spanish, Porto Ricans and Mexicans. The two former have come directly from the Hawaiian Islands. As this is a Territory of the United States, there is no inspection for possible dependency at the San Francisco port as for other nationalities. However, of the 54 Spanish families assisted only three are dependent at this time, and these are all due to illness. It is stated, however, that all of these families will again become dependent next winter if some plan cannot be formulated for suitable employment throughout the year. This seems an almost impossible task in San Francisco, for these people are physically unable to do heavy work, and cannot afford, with their large families, to take the low wages which would come with other employment. Moreover, they do not speak English and this serves as a handicap barring them from regular employment oftentimes. Some measure of success has been met in placing families on the land, where they are gaining a foothold and becoming self-supporting. While this work is yet in its infancy, enough has been done to demonstrate its possibility. While this work in Los Angeles as far as the Associated Charities is concerned, is not very hopeful at this time, yet we find a disposition on the part of certain city officials to take over this phase of the work as a municipal obligation, using public money to carry out a constructive program. This, however, has taken no definite shape in the

city council as yet, although it is heartily supported by certain councilmen.

In Seattle during the year ending October, 1912, of 867 families assisted, the nationality of 190 was reported unknown. Two hundred and ninety-one of the remainder were foreigners. Of these 108 were British, 54 German, 67 Scandinavian. Twenty-two were from Canada, the Irish numbered 21, while the Italians furnished only 10 of the total foreign-born, and Austria-Hungary 8.

In all the principal cities on the Coast, the Hebrew Benevolent Societies are not only taking care of their people who need relief, but are doing much constructive work through loan associations and land colonization projects. The German and Swiss benevolent societies in San Francisco are doing work among their own people, as are also organizations among these and other nationalities in the various cities on the Coast.

Defective Immigrants—Insane.

Of 4,583 insane in California, 35 per cent. were foreign-born. Of this, 51.5 per cent. were from countries of Northern Europe, 27.5 per cent. Southern Europe. As to the nationalities, 9.3 per cent. came from Scandinavia, 24 per cent. were British, 12 per cent. Germans, 9 per cent. Italians, 8 per cent. Russians, 5 per cent. Austria-Hungary, 4.4 per cent. from Canada and 7.6 per cent. from Mexico. There were also 7.6 per cent. from Canada.

In the state of Washington, of the 888 insane in institutions, 45 per cent. were found to be foreign born. Of these 62 per cent. came from Northern Europe, 14 per cent. from Southern Europe, and 9 per cent. from Canada. Scandinavians represented 35 per cent. of the total foreign-born; 14 per cent. were British and 10.5 per cent. Germans. The Italians represented only 3 per cent., the Russians 4.5 per cent. and Austria-Hungary 4 per cent.

Juvenile Delinquency.

The Juvenile Court deals with dependent and delinquent children.

In San Francisco more than 50 per cent. of the dependent cases during the past year were children of foreign parentage, while the majority of delinquents were native born of native parents. Children of Irish parents lead in number of cases, among the children of foreign parentage. The Italians rank next and then, in order, the Germans, Austrians, Russians and Scandinavians. The charges which predominate against delinquent children are truancy and sex delinquency, and in many cases petty larceny and drunkenness.

In Los Angeles the majority of children brought before the Juvenile Court were of American parentage. Of the foreign children, the Mexicans furnished nearly 10 per cent. of all cases. Most of these, however, were dependent cases. The Russians rank next, who together with the Slavs, furnish a large number of the cases of truancy from

school. In all four of these national groups there were charges of sex immorality, drunkenness and petty larceny.

In Portland and Seattle conditions are much the same as in the California cities. In general, the percentage of foreign-born delinquent children is less than the per cent. of the foreign element in the total population. In Tacoma, the general situation is also borne out, that the percentage of foreign children who are delinquent is not equal to the percentage of the foreign element in the general population of the city. Of 125 cases before the juvenile court during a period covering the past three months there were only three Italian families involved. The Slavs, among the foreigners, have been the worst offenders. The trouble comes largely from disobeying the truancy law, from drunkenness, petty larceny and sex delinquency.

Adult Delinquency.

In the Preston School of Industry, one of the reformatories of California, during the past year 642 boys were registered. Of this number 65 per cent. were of foreign parentage.

Out of 2,241 arrests in Fresno County, the majority were of the semi-vagrant American, or assimilated foreign classes. The largest number of foreigners were Mexicans, arrested largely for drunkenness. The Armenians arrested were apprehended chiefly for reasons growing out of property considerations. Their cases are in the Civil more than in the Criminal Courts. Armenians are temperate people and are known for their pure family life and the chastity of their women. German-Russians are arrested mostly for drunkenness and wife-beating. While these people are generally regarded as honest in business relationships, their chief moral defects are intemperance and sexual immorality.

The ten foreign nationalities which together contributed more than 90 per cent of the number of foreign prisoners in the Pierce County jail at Tacoma are as follows: Austrian, Irish, Italian, Canadian, German, Norwegian, French, English, Greek and Polish.

Foreigners in Prison.

A study of penitentiary records reveals the following facts: Of the 3,110 persons confined in the California State Prisons during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, 29 per cent. were foreign-born. Of these 24 per cent. came from Mexico and 6 per cent. from Canada. Thirteen and three-tenths per cent. were British, 10.6 per cent. German, and 5 per cent. Scandinavian. The Italians represented 10.8 per cent. of the foreign born, Austrians 3 per cent, Russians 2.2 per cent. and 2 per cent. were Greeks.

In Oregon we have data for only 375 prisoners, those received during 1912. Of this number only 19 per cent. were of foreign birth. Twenty-six per cent. of these foreign-born were British, 19 per cent. were Scandinavians 8 per cent. were German and 17 per cent. were from Canada. Thus 70 per cent were from Canada and Northern European

countries. Of the Southern Europeans, 10 per cent. were Austrians, 8 per cent. were Italians and 2.5 per cent Greeks.

While the percentage of foreign born in the Washington prisons during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, was the same as that of California's, some comparisons are of interest. The percentage of Italians and Russians rank about the same. The Austrians in Washington prisons, on the other hand, are more numerous, being 7.8 per cent. of the foreign born, as against 3 per cent. in California of this nationality. The Greeks were fewer, being only .6 per cent. against 2 per cent. in California. The percentage of Northern Europeans in every case is greater in Washington, the percentage for British being 17, Scandinavians 14, and Germans 14; as against British 13.3, Scandinavians 5 and Germans 10.6 per cent. in California. On the other hand only 2 Mexicans were in Washington prisons. Mexicans constitute 24 per cent. of California's prison population.

Attitude Towards Immigrants on Pacific Coast.

The attitude of mind of the people toward European people is yet open. Generally speaking, the people from Northern European races are not considered foreigners, and people do not think of them as "problems." The immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, however, especially where they have gathered in the cities and taken places in the labor market, are looked upon as foreigners and are treated as inferior people. But they are talented when they fit into places for which they are adapted and become in a sense non-competitors, as the Italian fishermen at San Francisco, the farmers of this race in Northern California, about Portland, Seattle and Tacoma; the Portuguese in parts of Northern California; the Dalmatian apple growers in the Pajara Valley in California; the German-Russians and Armenians in Fresno county; the Austrians and Slavs in the coal mines of Washington.

Some of these same peoples who have been in this country long enough to have been assimilated somewhat into the life of the community, are no longer regarded in this merely tolerant manner. The Italians in Northern California are among the most substantial citizens, farmers, business and professional men. They are conspicuous in city, state and national politics. As capitalists, architects, musicians, and in the educational and philanthropic life of the city their influence is strongly felt. John P. McLaughlin, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for California, says in this connection: "The Italians in California are very thrifty, more so, I dare say, than in any other state in the United States. With the Italian we have had little trouble. There are some of them on railroad work, but many of them have taken to farming, especially in the grape and wine business, and we have no cause to complain in any manner of the Italian."

As to the reception likely to be given immigrants after the opening of the Canal, the general attitude of mind is the same as toward those already here or who come across the continent. Everywhere people

adapted to the cultivation of the soil will be welcomed. Increased immigration will be hailed with delight by large employers of labor, transportation companies and land speculators. Labor leaders will be careful as to the kind of immigration they encourage, though they will be fair-minded about admitting any desirable immigrants. They will welcome tillers of the soil, but not until land is taken out of co-operative control and freed from the speculation and graft of land companies.

President Marsh, in speaking of labor at the recent labor convention held in Portland, says:

I am not one of those who would put a wall around this country and exclude any and all aliens from our shores. I recognize the longing for greater freedom implanted in the human breast and sympathize with the endeavor of any peoples to better their material conditions. Those whom we can assimilate we should welcome. I do protest against making this the dumping ground for the physically, mentally and morally unfit. It seems to me that we should attempt to do something to counteract the false impression that is being made abroad by mercenary interests as to labor conditions obtaining on this Coast; the totally wrong picture of our land, its opportunities and blessings which is being painted before the working people of Europe. American wages sound big to the European when he knows nothing of the universally high cost of living that prevails throughout America. They tell about our many acres of logged-off land awaiting cultivation, but nothing about the tremendous cost in time, energy and money necessary before that land can be made productive. An effort also should be made to gain strict enforcement of present immigration laws.

Mr. C. O. Young, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, in speaking of the situation in the Pacific Northwest, says:

Those who advance the idea of placing people upon stump or arid land with the assurance that they can be self-sustaining without being in possession of $1,500 to $2,000, are either unfamiliar with an attempt to make such land self-sustaining, or are with cunning intent deceiving the prospective land owner.

Mr. McLaughlin, of San Francisco, says in regard to the opening of the Panama Canal and its attendant problems:

With the opening of the Panama Canal, a new labor problem will confront us in this state, viz.: that of restricting the immigration that will come to our shores. The opening of the Panama-Pacific Canal will probably solve the farm labor problem in California, but at the same time will place us on guard against the possible influx of undesirable immigrants from Southern Europe. An effort should be made, however, to have the immigrants arrive during the months of harvest, say from May to August. The immigrants once placed in the fields, the question would solve itself. The industrious immigrant could acquire a small farm in a few years. These people in turn would develop an agricultural community, which in time would solve the farm labor problem. But if the immigrants arrive after the harvest they will associate with their own countrymen in the large cities, with the result that after being there for six or eight months, it will be practically impossible to place them upon farms. Once given a taste of city life, they would never turn to agricultural pursuits. I believe this is the experience of all the large eastern ports of entry.

Fundamental Agreement on Humanitarian Basis.

The most hopeful phase of the whole situation, however, lies in the fact that while organizations may differ widely as to the foreign immi-

gration policy of restriction or non-restriction; while certain people are putting stress on financial gain to the Coast by immigration, and others are planning primarily to care for their spiritual and social wants; yet on the common question of humanity, all forces converge and are willing to work out a domestic policy of fair treatment toward those already in the country. The school, the church and the state, together with commercial and industrial organizations, will work hand in hand in this humane program.

The booklet recently printed in San Francisco, entitled "A Humanitarian Study of the Coming Immigration Problem on the Pacific Coast," tells of two Pacific Coast gatherings—the Tacoma Conference on Immigration held February, 1912, and the Pacific Coast Immigration Congress held April last at San Francisco. At both these gatherings all of the interests involved got together, not to discuss the controversial phases of immigration, but to plan together the best ways and means of welcoming, protecting, educating, distributing and locating those who are already here and those who successfully pass our required port examination for fitness to enter America.

At the recent Labor Convention in Portland, President Marsh set forth the purpose of that gathering as being an exchange of opinions regarding the effect that unrestricted immigration would have upon our standard of living; the steps, if any, that have been taken by our federal government to control immigration; the preparedness or unpreparedness of our immigration service to care for future immigrants; how to protect those who land from the machinations of land boomers and greedy employers; how best to put them in the quickest and surest way of becoming desirable candidates for American citizenship. Mr. C. O. Young, in his address, said:

> There is a ray of hope in the fact that of late students of social problems have discovered that the evils must be corrected. Many of them have their root in poverty, much of which has been caused by the crowding of new arrivals into quarters unfit for habitation. These social workers have learned that the crowded centers bring ill health, which not only affects the immediate community, but contaminates the surrounding communities; also, the fact that slum districts are bred by the existence of these congested centers. If our nation shall keep the record for health and moral standing, then the source from whence these evils come must be eradicated. They have found that these evils, for the most part, have their root in the immigration of helpless undesirables to our shores, who have been exploited by heartless greed of transportation companies.

Such gatherings as these, breathing out the spirit of humanity, will have much to do in breaking down the walls of prejudice and will hasten the day when immigration problems will be turned into immigration opportunities, when every man within our gates, be he native or stranger, shall have a fair chance, not only to establish his economic independence, but also to enjoy the best elements of culture which we have to offer. Combining his ideals with ours, together we may adopt and work out the better way of assimilation, the foundation of which rests securely upon the one common hope of the human race—the Fatherhood of God.

The Relation of Commercial Organizations to Social Welfare

REPORT FOR THE COMMITTEE.*

Roger N. Baldwin, Chairman, Secretary St. Louis Civic League.

The most striking factor in business life today is the interest of the public in private business. The production and distribution of wealth is coming to be regarded in the public mind, not as a purely private enterprise, but as a public service —to be inquired into, organized, regulated and controlled in the interest of the whole public. Legislation restricting the hours of labor, factory inspection, workmen's compensation, the minimum wage, the regulation of hazardous occupations, are all evidence of the searching concern of the public in all industrial processes.

We, of the National Conference, have been slowly and surely pushing back to defective industrial organization for the causes of the most of poverty and its allied evils. Our

* The Committee on the Relation of Commercial Organizations to Social Welfare was established at the Cleveland meeting in 1912, as a new committee to bring before the Conference the results of the rapidly-growing activities for the public welfare carried on by commercial organizations. This subject has come before the Conference previously only in the limited field of charities endorsement. In fact, no general study of these new activities on the part of commercial organizations had been made by any committee or organization in the country.

The committee was composed of the leading exponents of the new idea in commercial organization. Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis, Mo., Chairman; Munson Havens, Cleveland, O., Vice-Chairman, Chamber of Commerce; Wm. H. Allen, New York, N. Y.; Alfred L. Baker, Chicago, Ill.; Marcus A. Beeman, Buffalo, N. Y.; J. R. Coolidge, Jr., Boston, Mass.; Edward T. Devine, New York, N. Y.; H. D. W. English, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John H. Fahey, Boston, Mass.; E. A. Filene, Boston, Mass.; I. N. Fleischner, Portland, Ore.; E. C. Giltner, Portland, Ore.; Elliot H. Goodwin, Washington, D. C.; Abraham J. Katz, Rochester, N. Y.; Arthur P. Kellogg, New York, N. Y.; A. H. Averill, Portland, Ore.; E. T. Lies, Chicago, Ill.; W. D. Maltbie, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Francis Quinlan, New York, N. Y.; Ryerson Ritchie, Jersey City, N. J.; Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.; David F. Tilley, Boston, Mass.; Richard Waterman, Philadelphia, Pa.; H. Weinstock, San Francisco, Cal.; E. M. Williams, Cleveland, O. Several meetings of small groups of committee members were held during the year, and the general method of collecting information and the scope of the program for the Seattle meeting agreed upon. The new Chamber of Commerce of the United States generously undertook, through Mr. Elliot H. Goodwin,

whole economic system has to answer the challenge of the unequal struggle. Business has been slow in responding to the challenge. Naturally conservative, not understanding at first the significance of the changing public attitude, poorly organized for collective action, controlled in many cases by powerful re-actionary interests, it is not surprising that the response was not prompt.

The New Commercialism.

But a new commercialism is building—a commercialism founded upon a new conception of the basis of prosperity, upon a far-seeing philosophy which teaches that whatever promotes the welfare of the whole community, promotes business—that better living conditions, and a community clean socially and civicly are sound commercial assets.

A new strength of organization is born of the new ideal. Says the "Nation's Business," speaking for the business men of America through the new national Chamber of Commerce at the time of President Wilson's inauguration:

> Never in the history of the United States have our business forces been better organized to co-operate in the work for which President Wilson asks the assistance of all patriotic citizens. In the establishment of better working conditions for their millions of employees, in the fixing of more rigid tests of individual and corporate integrity, in the development of that efficiency which makes for the prosperity of the country as a whole, they have gone forward rapidly in the last fifteen years. Perhaps no country, within the same period, has made greater progress along these lines. Nevertheless, the business men of the United States as a whole recognize that there is still much to be done in the correction of the evils incident to our great industrial expansion, and, in that spirit

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General Secretary, and a member of this committee, the collection of original information by sending out a schedule to hundreds of commercial organizations all over the country. The returns from this inquiry were analyzed and the results published in the June number of "The Nation's Business," the official organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. For a statement of fact that report is virtually the Committee's report.

Although the Chairman's report at the Seattle meeting contains a brief summary of that study together with other material, it is largely a social interpretation of this new movement. The report has been submitted to only a few members of the committee in advance, but in their opinion, it represents the general thought of the whole committee.

The papers read at the one general session of the Seattle meeting were intended to give first, a general statement of the new work of commercial organizations, and second, typical examples of that work in specific fields. The program, therefore, covers the work of one of the most effective chambers in a large city; work in rural communities and state-wide work (with special reference to the Pacific Coast).

The one subject to which the Committee devoted a special meeting, was charities endorsement. This program was in charge of Francis H. McLean, of the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, and the papers presented make a well-rounded and thoroughly up-to-date statement on that subject.—Roger N. Baldwin, Chairman.

of patriotism which has always marked the advancement of the country's business, they are ready to do their part in further promoting the cause of human progress.

The evidence of this lies in the spirit of co-operation among business men in every part of the country, which in the past ten years has to a marked extent supplanted the strong individualistic leadership. Almost every town and city in the United States today has its chamber of commerce, board of trade, or commercial club, in which the business men of the community are brought together to work for the benefit of the community as a whole, not alone to advance their own selfish interests.

The response to the challenge of social and industrial wrong is coming in growing volume from all these centers of organization. It is coming most conspicuously from the great, democratic, representative chambers of the larger cities, built up on the remains of those clusters of competing business bodies characteristic of the ineffectually organized business community of yesterday. It is coming from the little neighborhood business associations of the cities in their new union with the larger forces for a united city. It is coming from the rural districts and the towns, where the sleepy little commercial club has awakened to the strength of state-wide co-operation,—for the growth of business and for the building of those essentials of rural prosperity, good roads and good schools.

And more vitally perhaps, the response is coming through the rising nationalism in business, which found expression in the organization of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States a year ago, an organization now representing over three hundred commercial bodies in 43 states, a country-wide federation for the consideration of problems affecting business and the public welfare, from the tariff, currency and a national budget to civil service, vocational education and labor legislation.

Even from beyond national confines of business comes the response. From the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce, now five years old, come two recent social messages, one of a well-defined movement to establish a "permanent International Court of Arbitral Justice composed of judges representing the different judicial systems of the world," and the other a searching inquiry into the cost of living by some of the world's foremost economists. All types of commercial organizations, there-

fore, furnish evidence of the indivisibility of commercial and public welfare.

The movement to humanize business is still very much of an infant. All that has been done is the growth of the last ten years—chiefly of the last five. It is surprising, therefore, to note the tremendous variety of the social activities of commercial organizations set forth in the study made at the request of this committee by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and published in the June number of the "Nation's Business."

City Government.

First, it shows the almost universal appeal to business organizations of the problems of city government. Commercial organizations are not only taking hold of them, but they are leading the movements for re-organized government, new charters, ballot reform, administrative efficiency and economy. In Sumter, South Carolina, they blaze the way with the city manager plan, now nationally recognized as the most significant move in modified commission government, which business bodies have particularly fostered. Haverhill, Mass., boasts the first commission government in New England, a product of their chamber's work. Here in the west they have aided in the democratization of government, of which business men elsewhere are still more or less distrustful. Here we find a chamber reorganizing the assessment system, there establishing a bureau of municipal research, here a committee for studying public franchises, there a new system of merit service.

But above all the variety of detail, stands one growing tendency in the municipal arena—the open, warm, new cooperation between business men and public officials. We may at last come into something of the realization of local self-government when the secret alliances of certain businesses and public officers are replaced by open dealing, by hearty recognition of good public work and helpful criticism of short-comings.

Public Health.

Almost as universal a function of the new commercialism as municipal re-organization is that of bettering public health.

Aroused first in many cities to the commercial value of pure water in competition with rival cities, commercial organizations have logically followed the path to the industrial cost of typhoid, from that to re-organization of the public health service and its ramifying problems. In one city the chamber organized clinics for the workers in the larger factories, in another secured the medical examination of school children, in still another effected a complete revision of the health code and organized the enforcement of laws for clean food and pure milk.

Housing.

But of all health problems the one which stands out as country-wide in its relation to commercial organizations is housing. We suspect that business organizations began their interest in housing on the defensive—goaded into action by the reformers. But they have changed front. To quote the findings of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States: "Perhaps no one subject shows more clearly the broadening tendencies of commercial organizations than the attention now being given to housing conditions. It would seem as though the rapid multiplication of commercial organizations the country over had brought into existence the feeling that there is one thing better than boasting about a city and its advantages, and that one thing is in first making a city a good place in which to live, depending upon such conditions to make each resident of the city an advertiser of his home town."

In city after city tenement-house reform, costing ultimately millions of dollars to landlords, has been not only approved but started by leading business bodies. The state code of Indiana was backed in the legislature by the leading business organization. The Charleston, S. C., chamber is seeking to improve even the housing of its colored citizens. The Cleveland chamber has investigated, studied laws, drafted a code, and re-organized the entire housing inspection service. These are only typical of advances being made throughout the country. City planning has gone hand in hand with housing—first from the motive for the "city beautiful", but of late with full recognition of its great social and industrial effects.

Recreation.

Recreation claims a large share of attention, and often solid financial support. It is a good business philosophy which recognizes high community values—real money values—in adequate provision for play. Commercial organizations are forming the praiseworthy habit of co-operating with the American Playground and Recreation Association, in several cities paying the salaries of local field secretaries or contributing generously to local recreation committees. In Springfield, Mass., the Board of Trade raised $65,000 for a boys' club house and has gone into the whole problem of play with the apparent conviction that helping raise healthy, right-minded boys is not so far removed from the business of business men. In other cities business organizations are bringing about municipal provision for play, the use of public schools after hours, the development of vacant lots for school gardens and the making of comprehensive recreation surveys.

Social Service.

In the broader field of general social service business organizations are taking an increasingly live interest, chiefly as endorsers of movements led by others—but in many places as leaders. The chief service and the most wide-spread is the function of charities endorsement, a work so large, so full of difficult problems of administration and of adjustment with the teeming social agencies of a modern city that the committee has reserved for it a special program. But it should be noted here that the movement has already contributed in Cleveland the significant experiment of an organization for the joint collection and apportionment of all funds for charitable purposes.

Many organizations have been active in improving the public as well as the private agencies which deal with poverty and crime, and several have been pioneers in organizing new public departments in that field, creating in one city a board of public welfare, modeled on Kansas City's unique and inclusive public solvent of distress. Here we find an organization establishing a juvenile court; there another revising police administration.

Social surveys by the Russell Sage Foundation are becoming popular with commercial bodies as the basis of their social and industrial programs.

In some few cases we find business bodies going more directly to the source of trouble through the establishment of savings-bank insurance, co-operative loan-societies and the organization of a system of rural credits.

Industrial Relations.

Interpreting the effect of all these social movements on the business man, Mr. H. D. W. English, former president of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, says:

> This unconscious education of the business man that is silently going on in a commercial organization as the individual member lends himself to civic and social questions, leads him finally to see that the thing needed is less philanthropy and more of himself; . . . . that is, giving more of himself, the need of his check will soon disappear. He soon finds that it is idle and deceiving for men or women to build summer homes, hospitals, wage war on tuberculosis, when commercial methods of the present day are increasing the need for such places and such work. That hundreds of thousands of dollars to equip modern mills must, to be a future commercial success, carry with it other thousands of dollars for decent homes for workingmen to live in who can in turn give the full equivalent in healthy and effective service in these mills; that the machinery that maims men and causes loss of time and extra expense must be supplanted by protective machinery or it will prove a losing proposition commercially. He will find that the social welfare of his men is absolutely a part of the welfare of his business. . . . . .

But in this logical, larger field pointed out by Mr. English, business organizations are wary. And when it comes to reforms which most affect the organization of business itself,—labor legislation and the like,—the tread is extremely gingerly. One commercial organization naively reports: "Labor legislation is handled with a great deal of care. A careful investigation is made, which usually results in the matter being lost in committee. It is apparent that this kind of legislation is becoming more and more a factor in our business life and cannot be passed over lightly."

The only labor or industrial movements which have been taken up with real earnestness by any commercial organization are workmen's compensation, factory inspection, accident prevention, the regulation of the hours of the employment of children, and the distribution of immigrants.

Arbitration of labor disputes would seem at once to be a natural field, but few organizations have cultivated it. Resolution and good intent are about the only registered results. If the spirit of the following resolution from Tacoma is carried out we may look for a significant contribution.

RESOLVED: That, in the judgment of the Trustees, the best usefulness of the Commercial Club, to its members and to the city of Tacoma, will come through its declared willingness to make careful investigation of disputes between employer and employee, when occasion demands, judging each case separately and upon conditions and facts directly relating thereto, and when such investigations are completed, to declare an impartial judgment. We believe that a declaration, made in this way, would crystalize public sentiment and win every just and worthy force in the city to the support of this organization in this or any other public duty that may be assumed on the broad lines of wisdom and justice.

But we should note here the recent contribution of the Boston Chamber in effectively adjusting a threatened general strike of telephone operators by the appointment of a chamber committee which brought company and employees to an agreement. Significant too, is the recent action of the Cleveland labor council in requesting the Chamber of Commerce for a permanent conference committee to meet with representatives of labor for the adjustment of labor disputes.

The profit-sharing principle of organization has been pointed out but by one lone venturesome organization as worthy of the careful study of business men.

Some attention has been given by several chambers to the better preparation of children for work—a movement brought forcefully to the attention of business by untrained children in every factory and workshop. Probably the most thorough investigation of vocational education yet made has been done through the Chicago Commercial Club. Continuation schools also have already been organized at the instance of commercial organizations in at least three cities.

Rural Development

Urban chambers of commerce have enlarged their field during the last few years by taking hold of the problems of the rural trade territory which their cities serve. While the purpose is to build up weak territory for trade purposes, the results must be far reaching in the whole structure of coun-

try life. Already the Chicago chamber has organized a widespread movement for scientific and intensive farming and the Louisville chamber has secured a complete re-organization of the rural school system of Kentucky.

Reactionary Commercial Influence.

This is the general scope of the activities of the new commercialism. In some communities the leadership of business organizations is vigorous and progressive; in others weak and conservative. In many communities the business organizations are still asleep—indifferent, unconscious or reactionary. Some are actively opposing social movements, openly or secretly.

We are all too familiar with the story of opposition born of pocket-book interest to need its retelling by this committee. The modern business organization holds no brief for the type of business interest which works in the dark, declines to bring its case before the public, or thrash out its problems and abide the decision. We know there are still business organizations fighting either for the special interests which control them, or for general property interests from force of habit. We instance, in passing, a Pennsylvania chamber of commerce which recently protested the passage of a child labor law so long as it contained "that vicious clause prohibiting children between fourteen and sixteen from night work in glass factories."

We could name city after city in which, through the operations of credit, privilege-holding corporations have been able or are able to shut the mouths of business men. We do not believe that the new commercial leadership subscribes to the doctrine or to the practice of privilege in any of its forms, but we recognize that for many cities there is yet a long road to freedom.

The Larger Challenge to Business.

But there is a greater task before commercial organizations than any of these—and a task that cannot be evaded without serious consequence. In the midst of the work of today there comes more insistently the call of tomorrow—the demand that we shall look beyond today's reforms to complete industrial readjustment.

For the movement swelling greater than all reforms—

touching business more vitally and more surely—is that which some term the "social revolution," the movement of diverse parts with its one goal the abolition of private capital and the wage-system—a movement born of the injustices of the present-day industrial struggle. Represented by the Socialist party politically, by the Industrial Workers of the World and the radical labor group economically, it is in its increasing volume an insistent challenge to examine more searchingly our whole industrial fabric. Single tax, already submitted in three states, begins to challenge substantially the institution of private property in land, for it would, to quote Henry George, "take the kernel and leave the shell." The commercial effects and the social effects of single tax admittedly would be far-reaching. Is it not the clear obligation of business, in self-interest if nothing else, to face these issues, the more extreme by so cleaning up industrial conditions that they will not breed the bitter discontent of extremist philosophy and of "direct action"—the less extreme by studious co-operation. Is it not the clear obligation of commercial organizations to meet the advocates of these or any other vital movements, thrash out in the open the problem, state the case for business, and by co-operative processes to bring order out of the present chaos of public opinion in our cities, largely chargeable to a lack of acquaintance?

Community co-operation is the dominant need in the program of social and industrial readjustment, systematic organized co-operation between business, labor, the church, public agencies, and the social and civic forces. If democracy means anything, it means team-play—at least an attempt to pull with the other fellow. Business organizations have merely begun to touch that field, for them and for the community so full of promise. The success of a community must be tested not by forms of government, or *forms* of any other kind, but by the actual measure of *co-operativeness* with which naturally variant groups face its common problems.

A Social-Commercial Platform.

We venture to summarize by suggesting a platform on the relation of commercial organizations to public welfare.

Plank 1. We believe that whatever promotes the public welfare, promotes business. We believe that decent conditions of living adjusted to constantly advancing standards, are a commercial asset.

To that end we advocate the leadership or support by organized business of these specific movements:

1st. To make our forms of government simple, effective, democratic.

2d. To establish scientific methods in public administration.

3d. To improve the public health.

4th. As contributors, to co-operate with social agencies, to secure their social and fiscal efficiency and to provide for them adequate support.

5th. To provide decent housing.

6th. To plan for city growth of the future by the scientific study of civic and social needs.

7th. To better train children for industry and citizenship.

Plank 2. We believe that every industry should guarantee to all its workers a decent living. To that end we advocate the establishment of committees to investigate all proposals for the betterment of the conditions of labor, or for the re-organization of industry. We advocate also efforts for the prevention and settlement of labor disputes.

Plank 3. We believe that all public issues should be determined so far as possible by full conference between the interests involved, and to that end we advocate organized, systematic co-operation between all agencies active in public affairs.

Conclusion.

The committee would call the attention of social workers to their opportunity in aiding the education of commercial organizations in public service. Commercial organizations are a strong ally. Their resources, their inclination to seek expert service, to secure wide-spread publicity, the weight of well-considered business judgment with legislative bodies—all are forces which will add to the rate of progress and will insure its security.

If the great industrial changes which must be made to make opportunity equal, are to come as a quiet revolution of thought, not a revolution of strife and conflict, it is the burden of those who see the way to point it out at every opportunity. If we are to conserve the human energy wasted by the industrial system of today, if we are to so organize the production and distribution of the world's wealth that the few may not be surfeited, and the many struggle at the edge of subsistence, business organizations must set themselves to this, their own, problem with the unselfish open-mindedness of an economic philosophy written in the name of justice and of opportunity—and with faith in the creative power of American ideals.

A CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MILITANT—THE STORY OF FIFTEEN YEARS' WORK IN CLEVELAND.

E. M. Williams, Vice-President of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

The title of my address, selected for me before I had the slightest intimation that I was to come to Seattle, but a title which I wholly approved, carries along with its sub-title, the plain implication that I *might* formulate such reasons as suggested themselves to me as to why a chamber of commerce should assume a militant relation to the social questions of the community, and that I *must* relate the story of the militancy of one chamber of commerce—that of my home city, Cleveland. I shall take up the last first. It will not be a story, but simply a brief mention of some of the activities of our chamber of commerce with the idea that it may suggest some of the lines along which similar organizations in other cities may work.

Please be assured that neither my organization nor its representative has any false pride of achievement, nor does it or he lay any claim to initiative or originality, nor have we any conceit with regard to having done more things or better things than have been done by many other communities. It was your program committee that determined that information regarding one chamber's activities would be suggestive and helpful and it was your committee that selected Cleveland as the example and ordered us to the firing line. Pray absolve us, then, from the charge of egotism.

The Chamber's Work in 1902.

I read from a brief memorandum of the work along these lines in 1902.

The plan to establish Public Bath Houses approved and legislation secured to carry out the project.

The work of the Industrial Committee for the improvement of the condition of wage-earners continued.

Action taken to inaugurate an investigation of the housing problem in Cleveland.

Ordinance providing for the establishment of a city bacteriological laboratory and the appointment of a city bacteriologist urged for passage. A measure of importance in guarding the public health.

The work and financial methods of charitable institutions investigated by Committee on Benevolent Associations, and certificates of endorsement issued to those entitled to such assistance in securing funds.

Ordinance to establish a manual training and farm school for wayward and dependent boys considered and endorsed.

Legislation to establish a juvenile court considered, amendments suggested, and the bill as amended endorsed. Subsequently passed by the legislature.

Endorsement given to authorization, if it later appears desirable, of bond issue of approximately $1,500,000 for acquirement of land for sites for public buildings, approaches and park or parks in connection with Grouping Plan.

Industrial Problems.

Now I propose to follow some of the items mentioned here by brief memorandum up to the present time. We will take up at the beginning the work of the Industrial Committee. This work was continued in 1903 and 1904, in which year it also interested itself in conditions surrounding the lives of the workers while at their work and was influential in the establishment of lunch-rooms for teachers in some of the public schools.

In 1906 it was able to report about 200 firms engaged in some definite form of welfare work, an increase of 800 per cent. in the six years that it had been in existence. It estimated that about 56,000 wage-earners shared in the benefit of this work. This year also it began a scheme of co-operation with the Home Gardening Association. I repeat at length various quotations from a report made by this committee in December, 1908, and adopted by the chamber. This report was sent broadly to retail, wholesale and manufacturing establishments in the city. It was illustrated. It went exhaustively into familiar features of welfare work with which most of you are familiar, such as sanitation, ventilation, light, cleanliness, attractiveness of surroundings, safety (including fire escapes, machinery protection, automatic sprinklers, broad halls and stairways, etc.), washing facilities, individual lockers, visiting nurses, lunch rooms, rest rooms, club rooms, factory meetings, picnics, dances, lectures, benefit associations, etc. My quotations are to show you what recognition one chamber of commerce in the country has given and through its committee, board of directors and by members in general meeting, has urged upon the community those things which social workers sometimes feel are a matter of indifference to business men.

Wages and Conditions of Labor.

That Cleveland employers may more fully understand the significance of its work, the committee believes that it will be of value to present briefly an outline of the improvements which have been installed by Cleve-

land employers, and to suggest some of the principles which govern the activities of the committee.

Time was when master and man worked side by side, when interest and obligation were mutual—but the organization of industry and the consequent division of labor has produced a new relationship between employer and employe. The personal contact which formerly existed between them is to be found no longer. The opportunity for inspiration to constructive individual effort is absent when the worker is merely a part of the industrial machine. With this condition have come discontent and labor difficulties, due largely to a lack of mutual sympathy and the recognition of mutual obligation.

There is a growing belief in the efficacy of plans which take into consideration the value of the individual in the development of industry, and the responsibility which rests upon the employer for the development and character of the men and women, a large part of whose time he controls.

The manufacturer who does not give constant consideration to the care and improvement of machines and processes which he uses, falls behind in the commercial race. So the employer, whether he be manufacturer, office manager or retailer, who does not give serious attention to the welfare of the men and women, the human machines upon whose power of production he depends, may be looked upon as short-sighted. Furthermore, the man whose interest in his employes stops with the mere payment of wages, has not fully discharged the responsibility which his position has imposed upon him. This responsibility is well expressed by one Cleveland retailer in some such manner as this: "I am the owner of one-half the waking time of a number of men and women. Every individual has the right to expect each day some development in his character. As the proprietor of the time of my employes, I am in a degree responsible for this development. Each one must be given the opportunity to go home at night with ideals a little higher than when he came to me in the morning. The work which I give him to do, the spare moments which he spends in my factory, and my relation with him, must furnish the inspiration."

The committee has believed from the first that the fundamental basis of all welfare work must be found in fair wages; reasonable hours and sanitary conditions of labor; and your committee considers that these provisions are not a matter of option with the employer, but that every employe has the right to expect them. No amount of special features can rightfully be substituted for fair wages and reasonable hours, clean, light, well-ventilated work rooms, and adequate provisions for safety and sanitation; and any plans which take their place are pretty certain to fail.

In a paint manufacturing plant, the average length of employment in one department was less than eight weeks, because of illness from lead poisoning. With the introduction of shower baths this poisoning ceased, and the loss of employes from this cause no longer existed. The value to the company from the introduction of this feature, as well as the saving to the men in health and comfort, is inestimable.

The committee believes that a constant tendency toward increased wages is a thing for which every right-minded employer should strive.

The plans which have been considered so far are no longer, your committee believes, to be considered as included in the definition of "welfare work" but they may be deemed a necessary part of any well-organized business.

Welfare Work.

Speaking of lunches, there is the following paragraph:

Another method, which is meeting with continually greater success, is that by which the firm supplies room, utensils and perhaps service; and

employes, through their benefit association, or through an association formed for the purpose, assume the responsibility for furnishing the meals. This is conductive to greater independence, and often is the only plan which is found successful. In fact the great danger of welfare work, and the rock upon which it often founders, is the impression of exploitation or commercialism which obtains among employes, a belief that the employer, under the guise of philanthropy, is carrying on welfare features for advertising purposes solely, or because these features will make the employe worth more to him. An incident will illustrate this. A man visiting a large manufacturing establishment found one of the employes on a cold day sitting in a corner of the yard, drinking cold coffee with his lunch. The employe was asked, "Don't you know that the firm is serving in a warm dining room inside all the hot coffee you want, without any charge to you?" "Yes, I know that," was the reply, "but you bet I'm not going to go in there and get three cents' worth of hot coffee, when the firm expects me to do a quarter's worth of extra work to pay for it."

The employer who advertises his betterment features and points to them as evidence of his philanthropic attitude, but who really has no interest in the welfare of his people, seldom has a loyal and efficient corps of workers, for his motives are soon discerned and quickly resented.

Relation to the Community.

The committee takes this opportunity to urge one responsibility which the employer is just beginning to recognize; that is, his relation to the community. The tendency is toward not only a better, but a more beautiful Cleveland. We commend to every factory builder, the examples to be found in some recently erected Cleveland plants, and the policy which one firm adopted in the erection of its buildings; no builder has the right to make hideous the city which showers so many benefits upon him. In compliance with this principle the following instructions were given by the president of this firm to the architect of his building: "I want you to construct a building which will be beautiful; a building which will make the neighborhood into which we go, glad that we are among them; a building which will be an inspiration to my employes, and which, because of these qualities, will result in a better product."

Your committee has been able to outline only a few of the many endeavors by Cleveland employers to make business something more than the payment and receipt of wages, the production of goods and the declaring of dividends—to make it contribute to the higher life of the employe, the employer and the community. The industrial committee believes that every employer who reads this report could, with advantage to his employes and to himself, adopt some one of the welfare features presented.

Municipal Sanitation.

My note for 1902, you will remember, referred to the securing of an ordinance providing for the establishment of a city bacteriological laboratory. In 1903 an investigation was made of the sanitary condition of the public schools, followed by a report with recommendations. Action was taken to prevent the spread of typhoid fever. A new municipal sanitary code was drafted for presentation to the Council and recommendations were made relative to a municipal hospital for communicable diseases. This was followed in 1904 by the drafting of a complete new sanitary code seeking to do away with old and ineffective sanitary regulations and to substitute modern ideas and systems. Pro-

vision was made for the appointment of a special committee to consider and report upon the problems of water supply, sewage disposal and collateral questions.

In 1905 a complete revision was made again of the local sanitary code, the board of health adopting the recommendations made by the committee in favor of an increase in the number of district physicians and the examination by them of the general health and sanitary conditions in the schools. In 1906 the committee co-operated in many instances and in many ways with the board of health looking toward the enforcement of the health code drawn by the committee and now an ordinance of the city. It made a careful investigation of school inspection systems in other cities with a view to making recommendations on the subject.

In 1908 it was engaged at the request of the board of health and board of education in planning a comprehensive system of medical inspection in the public schools. It co-operated with the board of education in procuring proper plumbing regulations for the schools. It established one of the most complete systems of meat and milk inspection in the country under the provisions of the code which was compiled by its members. At the request of the Department of Agriculture it undertook the local supervision of one of the most successful educational milk exhibits and contests ever conducted by that Department. It co-operated with the Anti-Tuberculosis League in the management of the National Tuberculosis Exhibit, which was attended by 20,000 and in connection with which 375,000 copies of printed matter in five different languages were distributed.

In 1908 it was concerned in the perfection of the systems and the enforcement of the regulations referred to already; completed plans for medical inspection in the schools in co-operation with the board of health and the board of education and was able to report that the work had been introduced into three of the schools before the end of the year.

In 1909 it prepared and secured the enactment of state legislation providing for adequate medical inspection in the schools. It took steps to secure regulations insuring quiet in the vicinity of hospitals. It continued its work in connection with city milk and meat inspection departments and the schools. It made a careful investigation and reported favorably on a bond issue of $25,000 for the construction and equipment of a tuberculosis sanitarium, its recommendations being afterwards endorsed by the chamber.

The year 1910 marked the final and official establishment of the department of Medical Inspection and Supervision in the public schools as the result of five years' work of this committee. This year the committee received a request from the mayor to suggest a plan for the reorganization and development of the health department, which plan was adopted by the city administration. An interesting feature of this year's work was the conclusive reply made by the committee to the grand jury report criticising the system of milk and meat inspection.

In 1911 the committee continued the activities already mentioned. In co-operation with the Anti-Tuberculosis League it secured the adoption by the board of health of a subdivision on tuberculosis with the establishment of dispensaries, physicians and nurses, and the adoption of other active measures for prevention of tuberculosis.

In 1913, in addition to continuing these activities, it prepared a report of the city's need for public comfort stations and secured the authorization of a $50,000 bond issue for the purpose. It arranged for the financing of a Cleveland exhibit at the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography. It prepared a plan for the administration of public health, which was submitted to the Charter Commission and took up an investigation of the subject of ventilation in the street cars of the city.

Housing and Education.

One of the most important pieces of work done by the Cleveland chamber has been carried on by the committee on Housing Conditions which has for ten years been hammering away at the problem of improved dwellings. The committee has drafted practically all the legislation in the city and state on the subject, has called in national experts, has made exhaustive investigations of conditions, and has secured the effective enforcement of the laws. The committee secured the establishment of the tenement house division in the Health Department, believing that the inspection of tenements was the most important part of the work of the entire sanitary force of the city. Five hundred cases were taken to court in the first three months of the new division's work. The committee in commenting on the situation says: "Many real estate men and individual property owners have welcomed the activities of this Bureau and have sought its co-operation because of their recognition of the wholesome effect which it will eventually have upon property conditions."

A committee on Education has been active in many ways and has issued reports on Continuation Schools, High Schools of Commerce and District Supervision in the public schools.

Other Activities.

I simply mention committees which from time to time have handled problems connected with new city buildings, smoke abatement, street railway franchises, recreation and playgrounds, municipal art and architecture, etc., the names of which indicate the kind of work they do but by no means the amount of work done.

Charities Endorsement.

The work of this chamber along special lines is probably best known throughout the country through the work of its committee on Benevolent Associations. This work rests primarily on what is known as the endorsement plan. It is natural that any scheme of endorsement should eventually demand the establishment of standards, the meeting of which

must be a prerequisite to endorsement. The standards of the committee of Benevolent Associations of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce are formulated in the following eight items:

1. The organization shall fill a need not already filled by an existing organization and not capable of being thus filled.

2. The need shall be relatively great enough to warrant the equipment and support of a separate institution.

3. The organization shall be established in such manner as to assure the committee on Benevolent Associations of permanency in the organization's work and financial support.

4. The organization shall agree to co-operate with other charitable organizations in preventing duplication of effort and in promoting economy and efficiency of administration in the charities of the city as a whole.

5. The administrative committee of the organization shall meet at least quarterly.

6. All funds shall be collected according to a method approved by the committee on Benevolent Associations.

7. The accounts of the organization shall be regularly audited and a copy of the annual report shall be filed with the committee on Benevolent Associations.

8. The operations of the organization and its accounts shall always be open to the investigation of accredited representatives of the committee on Benevolent Associations.

Now, in giving a resume of our activities it is impossible to devote time to any one of them in detail. I regret that this cannot be done in the case of the endorsement proposition. I am constrained to say this, however, that I do not believe any charity or philanthropic organization can, on its own initiative, start a scheme of this kind, nor do I think that any number of them, no matter how inclusive they are of all the important organizations of the city, can by any machinery of their own, successfully establish this plan. It must be a work done for the information and help of those who contribute and the machinery must be of their making.

The theory of our plan is based on the proposition that the members of the chamber of commerce cannot be familiar with the efficiency, the need and the worth of all the organizations soliciting them, and they, therefore, have selected a committee of their own number, asking them to advise them of the worthiness of those institutions and organizations which solicit their aid. In other words, the committee are simply lawyers acting for their clients, the members of the chamber of commerce. What makes this really efficient is that the committee's tact, care, thoroughness and the general wisdom of its action has commended it to the members of the chamber. Inasmuch as these members include the givers of over 80 per cent. of the money annually contributed, the endorsement of the committee practically becomes necessary to the organizations that wish to live. This happens in a natural

way and not by the use of threat, coercion, or anything else distasteful.

Time will permit me to mention but one more important thing. A proper system of endorsement must see to it that no institution is injured before the public if it meets, or may meet, an otherwise inadequately cared for need of the community until the committee has used every effort to bring it up to standard and to aid it in the establishment of that degree of efficiency that will warrant its endorsement.

The Relation of Public Service to Business.

The above will indicate in an all too incomplete manner some of the activities of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, which are tending to solve the social problems of our city and broaden the information and understanding of our citizens with regard to their obligations and duties in social matters. I want no business man who hears me to think for a moment that this is the major part of the work of our organization. The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce is primarily a business men's organization engaged in promoting the business of Cleveland. It has its retail and wholesale merchants' boards, its committees on transportation, rivers and harbors, trade extension, and all the other usual working agencies of such a body. It has been drawn into the activities which I have been enumerating by the logic of the situation and by the realization of their great bearing on the material welfare of the city and its citizens.

The Philosophy of the New Commercialism.

One thing remains: Why should a chamber of commerce engage in this kind of work? Why should a commercial body whose excuse for existence is the protection and advancement of the material welfare of its individuals and its community, expend so much of its time and money in this sort of activity? If the motive is simply altruism or philanthropy, it might be urged that the work should be left to individuals or to a philanthropic organization formed for the purpose, which might or might not contain in its membership many of the same persons.

The great and clinching reason for a commercial body to concern itself with social work is that it pays in dollars and cents to do it; that it costs in dollars and cents not to do it. To do it enhances the money-making power of the industries you now have, of their officers and of their employes. To do it offers the greatest attraction to those seeking a new location for their homes and their business. Your boosting committee cannot find any better advertising than from what they can say with regard to conditions brought about by this sort of work. It is the most effective booster you can have and it is a continuous one, not depending upon spasmodic enthusiasm.

Not to do this sort of work costs money. It is more costly to support widows and orphans than to protect the husband and father from industrial accident. It is more costly to correct the embryo criminal than to give him the playground, the education, the relief from such handicaps as defective eyesight or hearing, enlarged tonsils, etc., which

he may have. It is far cheaper to provide a living wage and recreational facilities with clean surroundings to our young girls than to pay the cost of all the troubles that come when unfair conditions have forced them to unnecessary sorts of lives. There is no need of my enumerating all these economic reasons—an address could be made on them alone.

Business and Labor.

I want to make just one more point from the material standpoint. You may talk of free sites, bonuses, cheap power and all else as determining factors in attracting new capital and new industry. As great as, if not greater than these, is the condition of the labor market. The American laborer is wise; the best of him (and the best is in the large majority) is concerned with the welfare of his family, present or prospective. He wants to know the money he expends for taxes is honestly expended. He wants to locate where he is looked on as a man, not as a cog in a machine. He wants pure water, milk and food. He wants his dwelling to have the atmosphere of a home. He is influenced by the absence of conditions that make for a high death rate. He wants his children to receive a better education than was his lot. He desires that they have opportunity for play and recreation.

Yes, he, himself, wants the opportunity to provide not only livelihood and happiness for himself and family but, just as much as you, I believe, and I believe it unqualifiedly and with joy and with optimism for the future, he wants for himself the happiness and great satisfaction that comes from his own opportunity to be with you one of those that are contributing to make happier, finer, sweeter his own community. These things are his right. These things he is going to have. These things he ought to have.

We must not let things come to such a pass that he will come into this inheritance through strife. Meet him more than half way. See to it that he gets, not your charitable help, but his just right. Be willing to give him more. He will flock to your gates. You and he will have the market that will attract industry. Your cities will grow, not because of effort to make them large, but because of the natural gravitation of man and industry to the spot that gives them what they want and what belongs to them.

THE RELATION OF COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS TO NEIGHBORING RURAL COMMUNITIES.

John R. Howard, Jr., Secretary Thomas Thompson Trust, Boston, Massachusetts.

There is no more hopeful sign of the times than the awakening interest of organized commerce in social welfare. Business men have since the beginning taken part in the various charities of the city, but

one of the strangest anomalies has been that when the business man turned to philanthropy, he left his business sense behind. Philanthropy, like religion, has seemed to occupy a compartment in his mind separated from the registry of daily experience and training. But here comes the business man in his business capacity, turning upon the social problems of his city, the business mind, method and resources.

If the incorporation of social planks in political platforms marks a new era of hope, the incorporation of such in the program of commercial organizations is of even greater significance, for it marks the awakening of the keenest, most powerful men of the nation to the interdependence of men and conditions, an awakening out of which will come not only increased efficiency for the private efforts to bring about social justice, but ultimately, in government itself that social-minded co-operation of all of the people which is the true democracy.

At the same time that commercial organizations in some places are awakening to the interdependence of business and general social welfare, organizations in other cities are waking to the interdependence of city and country.

You are all familiar with the great movement of population from rural districts to cities, even larger, the country over, for the small cities than for the big; you are familiar also with the fact that most of our successful men have come from rural districts, ninety-five per cent., I am told, in the last edition of "Who's Who in America;" and of course the most fundamental fact is that from the rural districts comes all our food. That the country can continue indefinitely to send its best boys and girls to the city, and keep up the quality of the supply is hardly to be expected. Also, it is not possible, as is even now demonstrated, to continue to multiply the city-dwelling food consumers at the expense of the country-dwelling food producers without serious results. That the city, that the nation, is vitally concerned in the prosperity and happiness of the rural population was shown conclusively by Roosevelt's Country-Life Commission. What the rural population needs to insure its stability is: first, increased production (there are nations in Europe, with soil inferior to ours, that produce from two to two and one-half times as much per acre as we do); secondly, increased profits, through co-operative buying and marketing; and thirdly, more and better social institutions—schools, churches, social centers and opportunities for recreation.

It is also common experience that country folk cannot be led about by the nose as we try to lead city folk. That individual can accomplish most in the country—be he agriculturist, industrial organizer, educator, or social worker—who is in the country and of the country, established there in a well-recognized vocation, and known for what he is as a human being. But one of the most pronounced characteristics of the rural population today (in the East, anyway) is that it is without leadership. The more energetic having moved on to the cities, the residue presents a sort of dead level from which enterprise cannot be

expected. In fact, the pivotal point in the rural problem is to provide leadership—in agriculture, business organization, education, recreation, and the care of the poor and defective.

At this point, a city chamber of commerce discovers that it has an interest, not only in the prosperity of the rural population in general but in particular of the people of the surrounding territory, not only in the food supply of the country as a whole, but in the product of the near-by farms; that they are sending hundreds of miles for food that could be produced within twenty, and that the nearby farmers are sending their products hundreds of miles when they could be consumed at home.

The Chamber of Commerce in Binghamton after several years of the usual self-centered activities—trying "to locate new industries, to enlarge the old, to assist employers in getting labor, to develop the wholesale and retail trade of local merchants, and to secure better and cheaper transportation facilities—all with the object of making Binghamton a larger and more prosperous city"—indirectly came upon figures showing that the population of the section of the state of which Binghamton is the centre, was less in 1905 than in 1865. Further inquiry showed that the biggest single industry in that territory—the industry of farming—of which they had previously taken no account, was rapidly deteriorating, that property values were falling and the character of the people changing. Instantly, they saw that their measure of success had been too restricted, and that the prosperity of Binghamton depended upon the prosperity not of the urban industries, but of the whole territory. Accordingly, they enlisted the co-operation of the New York State College of Agriculture, the Bureau of Farm Management, of the United States Department of Agriculture, and the Lackawanna Railroad, established a farm bureau, employed an agricultural expert, and set about to bring the accumulated experience of science, and of the most successful farmers of the region, to every farmer, to boom the farms as they had the other industries, advising with prospective settlers, obtaining better rates and prices, co-operating with the schools in the development of agricultural education, etc., etc.

Farmers are on the lookout for a "bunco" when approached by the city man, especially with something apparently to the farmers' advantage; but such activity as this is so obviously and frankly to the advantage of both farmer and merchant that this prejudice is soon overcome.

The Board of Trade in Springfield, Mass., through its Suburban Committee, has recently organized the Hampden County Improvement League, with a paid secretary—a young minister who has done remarkable work in the all-around upbuilding of rural communities in Vermont—an advisor in general farm management and dairying, and an advisor in fruit-growing. In addition to these, they have the advantage of the twenty-five departments of the State College of Agriculture, and the financial and supervisory support of the United States Department of Agriculture. The departments of the League include Agriculture, Good Roads, Co-operation, Educational, Civic, and Social Service.

The motive in this instance was social, but the character of the plan immediately appealed to the business sense of the Springfield merchants, and money was forthcoming. This is the experience of little towns as well as big, the "man on the street" sees the advantage to his business—whatever it may be—and if it were not for the sake of enlisting the lively interest of the farmer by pledging a few of his hard-earned dollars, all the money needed could be easily raised in the city. In Hampden county the twenty-three directors are chosen one from each town and city in the county, and elsewhere the same representative system prevails. Yet the city furnishes the initiative, and, at first, anyway, the leadership and most of the money.

I see here a vast opportunity awaiting the commercial organizations of our cities. Not one of them but has a rural problem at its doors, a problem full of hope, requiring chiefly constructive forces, and promoting quick returns—in dollars and in human happiness.

THE ROLE OF COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN SOCIAL WELFARE ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

Miss Grace Trumbull, Representing the California Development Board, San Francisco.

There are seven hundred commercial organizations in the three Pacific Coast states. Like similar organizations in other parts of the country, they pass under a variety of names: Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade, Commercial Club, Development League, Promotion, or Improvement Club, Business Men's Association, etc. Some of them are town, or city-wide in their field, others are county-wide, and still others are state-wide.

The western type of commercial association is not so directly descended from the trade body as is the association of the eastern states. With rare exceptions the Coast bodies have come into existence through the inspiration of the idea popularly known as "boost." The population of the west is comparatively sparse. There remain large areas of land still awaiting even semi-intensive cultivation, while the manufacturing industries are few and small compared with those east of the Rockies. The business men of a community have looked about them, recognized that commercial expansion is dependent upon increased population, and forthwith decided to encourage immigration—using that term in a local, not a national, sense. To accomplish this they have banded themselves together in a commercial organization. How well they have succeeded in advertising the advantages of their respective sections to the rest of the world is evidenced by the familiarity of the East with the Coast country.

Although the commercial organization in the West has thus started with a foreign policy, as it were, it has been turned back upon itself and forced to develop a domestic policy by the very needs of the publicity work. The experience of Stockton, California, illustrates this do-

mestic aspect of development very well. For some years the Chamber of Commerce there spent its generous income in spreading abroad the fame of the rich San Joaquin lands, with the result that prospective homeseekers flocked to see them. But the bulk of the visitors came, unfortunately, during the winter months when the rainy season is on in California, and no real estate man had the temerity to conduct them about the country through the heavy roads produced by this same rich San Joaquin soil. Finally awakening to the fact that their publicity was worse than useless unless they could take care of the people it brought them, the men of Stockton changed their policy from promotion to development, and used their funds at home in a campaign for good roads. Today you may ride for hundreds of miles about Stockton over boulevard-like highways, and there is no longer any difficulty in showing the homeseeker about.

Other communities have been forced to a similar broadening of policy, through the existence of some local handicap which hindered the course of effective publicity and the resulting growth in population. Transportation, harbor facilities, irrigation, drainage, highways, are a few of the more common domestic needs which have demanded the attention of the commercial bodies.

Social Welfare and Business on the Coast.

It is to be expected that the things which classify as social welfare should be slower in finding their places on the programs of commercial organizations than are those that pertain to natural resources and economic conditions. There is not a phase of social betterment, however, which is incapable of exploitation on the ground that it will render the community more attractive. It has been the boast of the west that the sinister social conditions found in older and more thickly populated parts of the world do not obtain here. As population increases and world-old tendencies of social perversity become more evident, it will be the logical duty of the associations to guard against, and fight, the evils whose absence they have before gloried in.

The commercial secretary measures his success in people. His work is proving effective, or otherwise according as it increases the population of his district. A more discriminating measure is coming to be applied,—namely, the number of right people who come to the community. The costliness of getting the wrong people, both to the unfortunate people themselves and to the community, has been demonstrated. A work which concerns itself thus with the movement and settlement of human beings is bound to face problems of social welfare first or last.

While most of the commercial organizations are prompt to deny the social features of their work, because to the popular mind social welfare savors of slums and poor-houses,—and it would never do to admit that we might have such things on the Coast,—an investigation into their activities reveals much that has a social bearing. Charities endorse-

ment is done, or assisted in, by some organizations. It is not a usual rule in the cities and the smaller towns do not feel the need of it. The Seattle Chamber of Commerce has a well-organized endorsement bureau, and some bodies which do not start anything in the way of reforms or social work themselves, still maintain a sympathetic relation to the work of the municipality, or of private bodies, along those lines, and undertake to act as a central adjusting agency to prevent over-lapping of activities. The endorsement of movements by the commercial forces is coming to be recognized as an appreciable influence. Last fall when thirty-seven different charter amendments were submitted at San Francisco, the Chamber of Commerce endorsed certain of them and black-balled others. At the election the vote went in thirty cases out of the thirty-seven as the Chamber of Commerce had recommended. It would be stretching facts to assert that the Chamber of Commerce decided the question, but it is certain that it exerted a strong influence.

Housing and Health.

The Sacramento Chamber of Commerce,—a more strictly city body than most of the organizations,—is investigating housing and sanitation in a thorough manner, with the object of creating a public sentiment in relation to those subjects which will enable the authorities to do the things that are desirable. It is proceeding on the theory that the city administration desires to do right things, but is helpless in several respects, and hence it becomes the duty of the Chamber of Commerce to be helpful along the lines indicated. In San Francisco the Health and Sanitation Committee of the Chamber of Commerce keeps informed on matters relative to those subjects, gives its moral support to the city board of health, and has aided greatly in placing the needs of the latter before the city council and getting the necessary appropriations. It has undertaken no action on housing other than to press the enforcement of the shack ordinance and to urge a needed change in the building laws.

The little industrial city of Napa has done good work through its commercial body in stimulating the construction of a model industrial home section. Inasmuch as the commercial interests are active in persuading manufacturing concerns to locate in their territory, they are in a position to do excellent work in promoting correct building, both within and without the plant. If the chamber of commerce is intelligent itself on the subject of such building and its costs, and uses its tactful influence at the time the building projects are in embryo, it can help much to prevent wrong and unbeautiful industrial housing. The advertising value of such model homes in a community has been well illustrated in the industrial town of Torrence near Los Angeles.

In a number of the towns and cities, the commercial organizations have been influential in having territory set apart for playgrounds and parks. They are invariably helpful towards similar activities on the part of other agencies.

County Associations.

The county organizations are concerned with the growth and development of the whole country, and usually more devoted to the agricultural industries than to the town interests, although they represent the entire county,—country and city. There can be no question of the influence of these county associations upon the affairs of the county in matters of social welfare as well as other things. Not long since the supervisors of a certain county voted down the establishment of a county free library system. The proposition came before them without the endorsement of the county development league. Had it had this endorsement there is little question but that it would have passed. It had failed of endorsement because of the unconvincing manner in which it had been presented to the commercial body; it had not been set forth on its merits as a "good business" proposition, but rather on its high class ethical nature.

State Organizations—Immigration.

The California Development Board, the state organization of California, has been working along social lines to some extent. In January, 1912, the subject of immigration and the opening of the Panama Canal was discussed at the Counties' Convention of the Board, to which gather commercial representatives, business men, and supervisors from all over the state. The emphasis at that meeting was placed upon the state's need of preparation for the impending immigration. In March of the same year a conference of various forces interested in immigration was called by the Board in San Francisco. A series of articles on immigration was run in one of the daily papers, and considerable publicity given the subject in talks and addresses. Through being informed on the matters relating to immigration and preaching the need of action on the part of the state, the Board became involuntarily the source to which every person or society contemplating activity relative to immigration came. Through thus being a center of information and agitation on the subject, the Board was able to conserve and make more effective for the enforcement of public sentiment all the various forces and interests. It would be unfair to claim all credit for the new law creating a Commission on Immigration and Housing, which could never have been accomplished had the administration been unsympathetic to it, nor should the active interest of other organizations such as the Y. M. C. A., be discontinued,—but it is just to say that the fact of a practical body backed by business men considering it a vital issue for California had its strong influence on the situation. Other matters that have had a place on the program of the Counties' Convention of the California Development Board have been playgrounds and recreation and county free librares.

Distribution of Immigrants.

In co-operation with the Associated Charities of San Francisco the Board has made some experiments in distribution of Spanish and Porto

Rican immigrants That the experiments were not highly successful does not perhaps make them any the less an attempt at social helpfulness. The whole matter of distribution relates itself vitally to social welfare. As the commercial organization is continually engaged in influencing the movements of persons to determine their distribution, there is probably no more important work from the point of social welfare than the socializing of this characteristic activity. It means the changing of the measure of an organization's success from the securing of mere numbers, to the securing of numbers of people who fit the place they are induced to settle, and possibly the fitting of the place to the people through the development of proper environment.

The state board of California is well started in the work of gathering accurate and complete data about the whole of the state, and is meeting sympathetic co-operation and financial support on the part of the counties. All the facts are being sought, regardless of whether or not they are complimentary to the community. The aim is to supply the newcomer with all the information he may ask regarding a given district, and then supplement it with further facts and warnings to protect him from miscalculation in his venture. It is by no means always unfair dealing that leads to the failure of the settler. I have in mind one fertile and prosperous section where the record has been three settlers to every tract of land before a happy and permanent settlement was accomplished. No amount of caution will take the place of good farming but the dissemination of complete facts goes far towards preventing inaccurate calculation of expenses and returns, and the poverty and suffering that result from failure of funds before the land becomes supporting.

Oregon.

The Portland Commercial Club and Oregon Development League are engaged in exploiting the whole of Oregon and may properly be classed as state-wide organizations. The League is closely allied with the state immigration work as the secretary of the former is also commissioner of the latter. A careful survey of resources has been made recently, and a new publication on Oregon is soon to be in print. According to the secretary it has the virtue of freedom from adjectives. An effort is being made to protect the settler by investigating land deals. Local commercial bodies are stricken from the approved list of the League when their publicity work becomes exaggerated. The aim of modern social workers is to prevent wrong conditions as well as remedy them when they exist, and this work of supplying accurate information, —a back-fire to the false exploitation that is everywhere to be found,—if vigorously carried out by the commercial organizations is the most valued contribution to social welfare which they can make.

The sphere of usefulness of the commercial organizations on the Coast is continually widening, and a beautiful vista of possible service opens when their role in social development is considered. They are already socializing their characteristic, original function of promotion.

It is only three centuries ago since the first light house was built on the southern-most point of England. A heroic Cornish gentleman was back of the movement, and obtained permission from the government to erect the light. In correspondence from him is found the following amazing statement: "The inabytants neer by think they suffer by this erection. They affirm I take away God's grace from them. Their English meaning is that now they shall receive no more benefit by shipwreck for this will prevent yt. They have been so long used to repe profitt by the calamytes of the ruin of shipping that they clayme it heredytarye and heavily complayne on me."

There are those who doubtless will "heavily complayne on" the commercial organizations when they light the beacons of information through which the unscrupulous exploitation of the unwary will be prevented. The light on the coast of Cornwall went up despite the selfish complaints of the wreckers, and the lights are going up from the commercial bodies of the Coast. It is their noble privilege to be the beacons that warn of social shoal and economic rock, no less because their lights beckon invitingly to all the world.

CHARITIES ENDORSEMENT IN RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.

Henry Stewart, Secretary Chicago Association of Commerce Subscriptions Investigating Committee.

Charities Endorsement in its earlier stages was largely in the hands of superintendents of charity organization societies, prominent settlement workers, ministers, and public officials, who were frequently appealed to by the larger subscribers to local charities for guidance and direction in making their donations. In some instances subscribers made a regular practice of sending annually a complete list of all the appeals they had received during the previous year to some prominent social worker for confidential advice as to the institutions that might be checked off as worthy. In some cases the subscriber's private secretary was instructed to look up all the institutions appealing for funds and to select a certain number as prospective beneficiaries. Or, again, the need for a "confidential tip" or "inside information" as it was frequently called, regarding the worthiness of the organizations, encouraged some individual to launch a private reporting agency and to make it as successful from a commercial point of view as possible.

Charity Organization Societies Enter the Field.

Later we find the charity organization society, notably in New York, Boston and Chicago, acting in an advisory capacity to subscribers to philanthropy through the medium of bureaus maintained for that specific purpose.

These bureaus, it should be clearly stated, were called into existence by the demands made upon them by subscribers who were quick to

discover that a well-managed charity organization society is invariably found in such intimate and vital relations with all other local philanthropic agencies that it must necessarily acquire a valuable fund of information regarding their merits. Further, the investigative work of these bureaus, being conducted under the direction of a reputable organization, has frequently reached a very high watermark of excellence and has usually been both skillful and conscientious. Notwithstanding all this, in many cities it is regarded as ill-advised for one philanthropic organization, itself dependent upon contributions, to undertake the duty of investigating and passing upon the merits of other philanthropic organizations when all are dependent upon the public for financial support.

Tendency Toward Commercial Organizations for Endorsement.

We accordingly find several charity organization societies abandoning the endorsement field and appealing to the local chamber of commerce as being better fitted to conduct the work; first, because of the representative character of the members of the chamber which usually includes a great many of the subscribers to local charities; secondly, because the chamber, itself, is free from the necessity of appealing for contributions; and, further, because the charity organization society desires to have its own work investigated by an outside body.

Chambers of Commerce and Charities Endorsement.

In 1910 the Chicago Association of Commerce made a special inquiry regarding the experience of other cities in charities endorsement work. The following partial list, representative of various types of endorsement bureaus is taken from the records of that inquiry:

The Committee on Benevolent Associations, organized in 1900, by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

The Charities Endorsement Committee of San Francisco, organized in 1902, by a committee representing commercial and charitable organizations.

The Charities Endorsement Committee, organized in 1902, by a committee representing three commercial organizations of Seattle.

Charities Endorsement Commission, organized in 1909, by a committee representing commercial, social and trade organizations of Lincoln, Nebraska.

Worcester (Mass.) Charities Commission, organized in 1907, by a committee representing two commercial and a number of civic and social organizations.

The Bureau of Advice and Information, conducted by the New York Charity Organization Society was started in 1882 and definitely organized in 1906. A similar Bureau, conducted by the Boston Associated Charities, was organized in 1905, and the United Charities of Chicago Bureau in 1899.

Objection is sometimes made to an alliance between the commercial organization and the Charity Organization Society.

The Chicago Association of Commerce enquiry developed the fact that there was a quite general conviction that it is better to have endorsement work conducted by the local chamber of commerce. The very able and comprehensive presentation of the work of the committee on Benevolent Associations of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce by Mr. Howard Strong at the National Conference at St. Louis in 1910 has been carefully studied by all interested in the subject. The Cleveland Chamber reported that during the previous ten years they had eliminated over five hundred fraudulent and semi-fraudulent solicitors; prevented seventy-five undesirable institutions from gaining a foothold in Cleveland; promoted amalgamation of fifteen organizations that had previously been overlapping.

Since the Conference at St. Louis in 1910, charities endorsement bureaus have been organized by many chambers of commerce, among the larger cities being Buffalo, Chicago, Minneapolis and St. Louis. Other cities are seriously considering the advisability of taking up endorsement work, but they are looking into the question of how far their chamber of commerce may be vitally interested in humanitarian movements and in social betterment generally. Also whether or not their chamber answers to the description given by Mr. Strong when he referred to the organization which he represented as a "chamber of citizenship" because of the broadly representative character of its membership. This includes, in addition to business men, clergymen, educators, publicists, social workers and physicians. Its activities as an organization have included medical inspection, infant mortality, playgrounds, and numerous other lines making for civic welfare. The majority of the larger chambers follow similar programs and the trend is unmistakably in that direction.

Nevertheless, those who are deeply concerned about charities endorsement in any community, desire to know exactly how far their local chamber of commerce may be vitally interested in matters of civic betterment before taking further steps. In some cities the consolidation of several commercial bodies is being considered at the present time and those interested in endorsement work naturally feel that it would be inopportune to push the matter vigorously until the consolidation has actually taken place. The commercial organization thus formed may take some time to attain to any considerable degree of confidence in the public mind. A composite body is usually less effective in endorsement work than a single representative organization.

It is felt that the work to be well done implies that the chamber must assume a serious responsibility. The Boston Bureau of Advice and Information states its conviction on this matter as follows:

> To make the work truly effective for good, such a committee must always keep in mind that it has several distinct duties to perform,—first, to educate the public so that it shall demand proper standards of efficiency in charitable organizations; second, to prevent the duplication of charitiable effort; third, to help legitimate enterprises by advice and co-

operation; fourth to show the needs of new organizations or the extension of existing ones; fifth, to detect and drive out impostors and frauds. In order to do all these things the committee must have the confidence of the community both as to its business sanity and as to its knowledge of charitable and sociological work. If the committee is composed wholly of business men or their representatives, though satisfactory to the public in the first capacity, it is likely to fall short in the second. If the committee is composed wholly of social workers or representatives of charity organizations, the converse is likely to be true. We believe. therefore, that a committee fairly representative of both bodies is the one which is capable of the largest and most effective work.

Not all would agree that the endorsement committee should undertake this entire program. Cities which have a central council of philanthropic agencies might safely turn to their council for guidance as to the need of new organizations; or possibly the task in those cities might be shared by a joint committee of the endorsement bureau and the central council. It has also been suggested that in such cities the charities might be represented in the endorsement bureau by two or three official delegates from the central council. This is an experiment that will be closely watched. It would probably be in accord with the suggestion made by the bureau in Boston. It is usually found, however, where the central council does not yet exist the endorsement committee almost invariably seeks freely the expert advice and opinions of leading social workers. This is especially true with reference to the selection of a secretary for the committee. Directors and instructors in the various schools of civics and philanthropy are consulted because it is regarded as of serious importance that the secretary should be in the fullest sympathy with all sound efforts to raise the standards of efficiency in the philanthropic field, and that he should have as much practical acquaintance with the problems as possible.

Fundamental Requirements of the Endorsement Committees.

The following standards have been adopted by most of the committees, although it has not been found feasible to insist rigidly on their application during the first two or three years:

1. Organizations should be incorporated.
2. Should be managed by local board of directors meeting at least quarterly.
3. Should publish reports of their work.
4. Accounts should be audited by public accountants.
5. Funds should be raised in an approved manner.
6. Plans for new societies should be passed upon by experts.
7. Organizations should co-operate heartily with other charitable agencies, in promoting efficiency and economy of the charities in the city as a whole.
8. Organizations engaged in relief work must use the confidential exchange.

Undoubtedly the most effective instrument in bringing about better standards in social work is the presence of a representative, well-in-

formed, conscientious board of directors. A society managed, or rather mismanaged by directors who are merely figureheads can be the cause of an amazing amount of mischief.

Methods of Making Decisions Public.

Organizations meeting the requirements implied in the foregoing standards are usually furnished with cards of endorsement for limited periods, in most cases for a year. In some cities, the endorsement specifies the amount of the budget which the society may raise by subscriptions. In addition, a so-called white list or directory of the endorsed charities is widely distributed. In some cases the list is published in the daily press. Effort is made to reduce the demand for the endorsement card by urging subscribers to consult the list or directory when making donations, and payment by check to the order of the institution is recommended in preference to giving cash to solicitors. Endorsement committees that do not approve of the issuing of the card or of the endorsed list follow the custom of issuing an individual report on each organization concerning which they have received specific request for information from a prospective subscriber. One advantage of this lies in the opportunity it affords to call attention to special merit in organizations of exceptionally high standing, and to point out the defects of others. On the other hand, the legal counsel of some of the committees advise against the plan because of the risk of libel suits where the reports are of a particularly unfavorable character.

Some are opposed to the issuing of a card or directory of endorsed charities on the ground that under this method all institutions are classified as good or bad. The plan, however, offers special opportunities for dealing in an effective and constructive manner with inefficient organizations, most of which are compelled to secure the endorsement in order to obtain the necessary finances. Usually they are willing to meet any reasonable demand so as to avoid the loss and humiliation which would be entailed through the withdrawal of the endorsement.

Municipal and State Endorsement.

We find that Kansas City, Missouri, has an endorsement bureau managed and maintained by the Board of Public Welfare. The report of the Board for 1912 states that nine organizations which failed to meet the necessary standards have ceased their activities in Kansas City. The Board sends its directory of endorsed charities to members of the Commercial Club and to other business and professional men in the city, and there has been gratifying testimony to the value of the work accomplished. The Board regards the constructive features of its work in the conferences held with the directors of charitable organizations to be of far greater value than the negative side of its activities in eliminating unworthy organizations.

Before issuing a certificate for the incorporation of a charitable organization Massachusetts calls upon its State Board of Charity to

"make an investigation as to the persons who have asked to be incorporated and as to the purposes of the incorporation and any other material facts relative thereto." The following will give some idea of the standard towards which the State Board is working, and also shows what has already been achieved. A petition for a charter is not approved when one or more of the petitioners has a criminal record, or even a bad reputation, nor when the alleged charitable purpose conceals an illegal intent, or where it appears that the contemplated charitable work will be merely incidental and the primary intent that of providing a living for one or more of the incorporators.

Petitions will also be refused when the methods of an organization tend to encourage pauperism by indiscriminate distribution of relief. A new organization, to be incorporated, must be able to prove that it will not duplicate the efforts of other organizations or by its activities produce confusion and waste in the local philanthropic field. The enforcement of these requirements during 1911 resulted in the refusal to issue charters to twenty-six per cent. of the societies making application. The State Board of Charity in 1911 inspected one hundred and sixty-nine charitable societies and reported those not charitable, twenty; badly managed charities, seventeen; fairly well-managed charities, sixty-eight; well-managed charities, sixty-four. Other states will study with keenest interest the measures which Massachusetts adopts with reference to those listed as non-charitable or badly managed, as these constitute twenty-two per cent of the entire number inspected in that year. There is much to make us suspect that conditions in other states are no doubt quite as bad, and, in some cases, far worse.

Experienced social workers, educators and others who are vitally interested in social betterment in each city and state will best be able to judge whether or not the time is ripe for them to petition their municipal and state officials to take up endorsement work. It will hardly be questioned that at least with respect to certain phases of the work this would be the proper goal to strive for under favorable conditions, and by that we mean chiefly the absence of bad politics. The introduction and proper enforcement of an incorporation law in all the states similar to that operative in Massachusetts will vastly reduce the work of the Endorsement Bureaus.

Charities Endorsement and Recent Developments in Social Work.

It will be obvious that the task which confronted an endorsement committee ten years ago and which made large drafts on its time in running down irresponsible and fraudulent solicitors, as well as working almost single-handed in discovering the facts regarding wasteful duplication of efforts, was an entirely different one from that which meets the committee of today in any city where the philanthropic agencies have already organized themselves in a central council for the purpose of systematizing their own work. This will be particularly so when certain very desirable and reasonable standards are necessary for any organization

to qualify for membership in the council. Furthermore, if that particular city has already undertaken a searching, scientific social survey, most of the investigative work will have been accomplished already, at least to the extent of determining what agencies are needed. If the state in which the city is located has passed a law refusing incorporation and permission to operate for all unworthy organizations the work of the endorsement committee will be valuable in giving its powerful moral support and influence to the organizations which are striving to attain to that standard of efficiency which satisfies the best judgment of both local and national experts in social work.

The proposed National Clearing House for Charities Endorsement Committees will be in a position to render invaluable service to all the committees by serving as an exchange for the distribution of standard forms and reports, the publishing of bulletins describing the plans and methods in use in various cities, as well as arranging for conferences for the discussion of various phases of the work. Endorsement committees which have succeeded in serving their communities to the extent of having increased the efficiency and secured economy of administration of their local charities, as well as merely eliminating the fraudulent and unworthy, will then turn with the deepest interest to study the plans of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce which have in view the larger and more adequate financial support of the charities of Cleveland.

DEVELOPING STANDARDS.

L. A. Halbert, General Superintendent Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, Missouri.

In considering this question, I have agreed with Mr. Stewart that he should discuss the matter of financial accountability and economical management in charitable organizations in his paper, and I shall undertake to discuss the responsibility of charitable organizations for the welfare of their wards and beneficiaries and their efficiency as agencies for reducing the misery there is in society. I will consider this subject under three general heads:

1. Standards of investigation.
2. Standards of administration.
3. Standards of service.

Standards of Investigation.

If any body of philanthropic people is to act efficiently, of course it must act intelligently. Its action must be based on full information. If a group of people is moved to try to do something for humanity, its effort is directed to meet some needs, supposed or otherwise. One of the things that would tend to help the efficiency of any charitable organization is for it to clearly define its objects and limit its field to certain specific

lines of work. If its work is designed to meet a need in society, it is very necessary to determine in the beginning whether such a supposed need actually exists. It is said that the raising of money for a newsboys' home on a large scale in Chicago was once blocked by an investigation of the newsboys who were gathered in a large meeting, the investigation showing that practically all of these newsboys lived at home with their parents. If a group of sympathetic people propose some unwise project, and there is any supervisory agency to guide them, their interest should be diverted to some useful purpose and not discouraged altogether. But a careful investigation of the needs of the community should precede the starting of any philanthropic project in order to see whether the community needs such a project. Oftentimes if a project is already launched, it might be modified as to its character by such a study. If the people actually interested in such a project can be led to make investigation themselves, or be led in making the investigation, they will probably be more readily convinced than if an opinion is handed to them by some expert investigator who has done the work for them. If it has been determined that the institution or organization meets an actual need, then the question might naturally be asked whether it meets the need adequately and if it does not, such data would be of material assistance in raising money.

Among the questions that would naturally arise in connection with a charitable organization would be the one as to who is properly entitled to its benefits. Standards of admission have to be established. In deciding upon who should be admitted to the benefits of this particular organization, it is necessary to consider what other agencies there are available for meeting the needs of the unfortunate people. If there are no other agencies for helping unfortunate people at all, then this particular organization must try in some way to meet any kind of need that comes before it, but it is highly desirable to have a specialized task. It is, therefore, very important for any charitable organization to apprise itself fully of all the resources in the community for helping unfortunate people. This is not only necessary to help those in charge to specialize their own work but it is necessary in order that they may not waste their money in maintaining two sets of machinery where one would do, and also in order that they may not actually hinder the efficiency of the other agencies in their efforts to enforce a certain policy toward their beneficiaries.

It is generally recognized that charity should never become a substitute for work and should never take the place of self-support where that is possible. It is not only necessary to carry on investigations to determine what class of people shall be admitted to the institution or to the benefits of a given society, but it is necessary to investigate each particular case with care to see whether the persons involved are entitled to any charitable assistance at all. This is a matter that cannot be determined offhand, by the apparent misery or dejected state of the person applying. It is necessary to acquire a full knowledge of the

financial resources of the applicant. Nobody can depend entirely on the statements of the applicant. History must be ascertained from people who have had previous dealings with him. No investigation that does not have the information verified from two or three independent sources could be relied upon. It is hard to teach sympathetic people that this careful inquiry is brotherly or necessary, but charity workers with any experience know that it is essential. The best way to educate new charities about the importance of investigation is to show them, if possible, a few cases where they have been actually imposed upon, or have wasted their money, and if they are guilty of acting without proper investigation, it would not be very hard for a skilled investigator to uncover facts for them which would surprise them and convince them of the value of thorough investigation. If they see that this is done to help them, and not to ridicule them in any way, they will be thankful for the light which they have received.

After it has been determined that there is a need in the community and that certain particular individuals are entitled to the help of a given society, the next question that would naturally arise would be in regard to what is the best method of helping such people. This would require the society to look into the experience of other people who have worked along this line. If they do not make such an inquiry, there is danger that they will adopt policies that have been abandoned by social workers as ineffective or improper after having been thoroughly tried. In general, the charities must decide that they will never act without investigation. To conform to the standard of scientific charity, they must act on full, classified information.

Standards of Administration.

Under the general head of standards of administration, I shall speak of form of organization, qualifications of paid workers, policy in regard to the nature and extent of the service to be undertaken, and system of records.

In general, it is best to have a charity controlled by a board of directors which is incorporated and has for its main interest the efficient management of its chosen project. The real administrative body should not be large. It should appoint one head to its work with general authority and hold such head responsible. It is needless to say that such head should be a skilled worker in the line of work to be carried on. If such a person is not available, a person of good general training and ability should be selected and then be given an opportunity or be required to fit himself or herself for the work in hand, at least by books or articles, and better still, by a tour of investigation, and it may be even desirable to send such a person to take a course of training. If the organization really desires to be useful, money spent in this way would be well spent. No body of volunteers can carry on any important charitable work without skilled guidance. Every position where the person is required to deal with human beings and relieve their misery

should be filled by some one who has a good knowledge of social work. It is needless to say that he should have sympathy and good character. An ignorant, talkative and injudicious employee will kill any society if he is not checked. The time is near at hand when no charity can be recognized as efficient that does not employ trained professional social workers. If a society employs such workers, they will be of great value in helping fix the policy of the society.

In general, it should be remembered that the standard thing for human beings is self-support in a private home with good family life and each unfortunate person who must be helped should be kept as near to that type of life as possible. Therefore, advice, employment, and every like means of assistance should be afforded before anybody resorts to material relief. If material relief must be granted, it is better that it should be given in the beneficiary's own home if that can be arranged. If this is impossible, a foster home with friends or relatives or some kind of place in a private family is the next best thing. Institutional life is the last expedient, and if this must be resorted to, the institution can best approximate home life by arranging its plant on the cottage plan and by handling its beneficiaries in small groups. In accordance with these principles, the needs of orphan and neglected children can be better met by a placing-out system than by the extensive development of an orphans' home. Widows' pensions that keep mothers at home to care for their own children are preferable to day nurseries, and probationary oversight is to be preferred to commitment to an institution.

Every society should keep records of the facts about its beneficiaries which tend to show their true conditions and should always make inquiry into the causes of those conditions as far as possible and keep record of them. It should record carefully the volume of its business and the nature of the services rendered and make record of the results obtained in various cases. If it is a hospital, the improvement and the cures effected should be carefully recorded. If it is a children's institution, the growth of the children and the progress of their education should be recorded. In all cases, the number of people restored to normal life should be made note of, and if any industry is carried on in the institution, the amount and value of the work done by each inmate should be recorded. All this data should be periodically compiled and analyzed and conclusions drawn from it so as to guide the future policy of the society and to lead society in general in its efforts to remove the causes that produce this misery. There is nothing like good records and regular reports for keeping up the standards of an institution.

If the general points I have mentioned are observed by a society, it could hardly fail to have a good standard of administration.

Standards of Service.

Where relief is given to people in their homes, it should be sufficient

for them to maintain a decent standard of living but that standard will vary for the different beneficiaries according to the standards maintained by their families before they were overtaken by misfortune. Where the beneficiaries of a society are maintained in an institution, the first requisite is the health of the inmates. In order to ascertain whether this has been provided for, one would naturally ask:

Is the light and ventilation good?
Is the institution provided with proper toilet and bathing facilities?
Are the rooms overcrowded?
Are the beds comfortable and thoroughly clean? This is an item of great importance in connection with institutions for children and for old people, or feeble-minded people.
Are the beds free from vermin?
Is the food good in quality and sufficient in quantity and variety to maintain the inmates in good health?

Of course, other questions could be raised, but I think these cover the most important points.

The morals and education of the inmates are matters of great importance and one would like to know in cases of children, whether their education is being properly provided for. There is great danger that children raised in institutions will not be properly trained in doing some kind of useful work. Degraded people should not be allowed to corrupt innocent people in a charitable institution. Order and good discipline must be maintained at all times and some kind of religious instruction provided. The question of recreation or of how the inmates pass the time is one that has a great deal to do with the happiness of the inmates, and some provision for recreation is essential. If the beneficiaries of the institution have any property interests to be guarded, such as legacies or insurance, they should be carefully looked after by the head of the institution.

In a general way, we may say that a proper standard of service requires that all the varied interests of the inmates be looked after, including their physical, financial, mental, moral and spiritual interests for the quality of their whole life depends on the character of the institution in which they are being kept.

Bringing the Societies up to the Standard.

Of course, the first point in getting any charitable organization to observe a good standard is to see that it knows what a good standard is. In starting the work of charities endorsement in Kansas City, the Board of Public Welfare offered the services of Mr. Francis H. McLean as a charity expert to the various charities of Kansas City, asking them if they would like to have him visit their institutions and make suggestions for their benefit. Nearly all of them responded favorably and Mr. McLean visited nearly all the institutions of the city in pursu-

ance of this plan. Some similar visits by other trained workers have been made to different institutions since. It has been our purpose to make a sort of sociological audit of the various institutions annually and we hope to continue that plan. The trouble at first will undoubtedly be that we will not find sufficient records to audit but the auditor may be of assistance in installing such a system of records as ought to be kept.

In order to get the institutions to record their experience in an intelligent way, we have sent a pretty thorough schedule of questions to each institution and asked them if they would be able to furnish us such data from their records. This resulted in improving the records in various institutions. Occasionally, when they have sent their annual reports, we have written them asking for additional information and suggesting that it would be interesting to the public if they would include this additional information in their printed reports. If the various organizations are induced to learn the facts about themselves and those facts are unfavorable in any way, the mere revelation of the facts will operate as a corrective. In persuading charitable bodies to change their policies, it is a good idea to have them discover the right idea for themselves and announce their new and more progressive plans on their own initiative as far as possible. This will remove the sting from any implied criticism about their former policies. In getting the criticisms before a board of directors, if they could be persuaded to arrange for papers or speeches on topics pertaining to their kind of work at their regular meetings, by experts or by some of their own members who have been reading and studying about the matter, this would bring them to a knowledge of what is the best policy and would tend to bring out any defects that they might have in their own work.

We have discussed more or less the idea of scoring or rating the various charities and judging them on certain points in regard to the quality of their work, but never have gone so far as to do this. However, I believe it would be possible by having a periodic visit made by a trained worker to rate them as to their sanitary standards, their physical equipment, their records, their educational work, their recreational features, etc. If this should be done, it could hardly fail to be a great stimulus toward better standards.

THE ESSENTIALS OF THE CLEVELAND EXPERIMENT IN "CO-OPERATIVE BENEVOLENCE."

Edward M. Williams, Vice-President Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

On March 1, 1913, occurred the initial meeting of an organization designed to approach an old problem in a new way. The board of trustees of the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy brought together for the first time ten persons elected by a group of federated benevolences, ten elected by the givers to those federated benevolences and ten chosen by the president and directors of the Chamber of Commerce.

The aims of this body are four-fold—the securing of a larger total of gifts for the benefit of benevolent works in Cleveland; second, the securing of larger results from those gifts through the exercise of greater economy and efficiency with the help of co-operative effort and co-ordinated administration; third, the securing of a larger number of givers through the maintenance of a co-operative and co-ordinated financial canvass, and fourth, the securing of increased happiness and satisfaction for these givers by reason of their more intimate understanding of the needs of the city as a whole as given by the Federation, and also by reason of their greater freedom to choose from among the total needs thus shown, those which best appeal to their interest and co-operation.

During twelve years previous to the meeting referred to, the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, through its Committee on Benevolent Associations, has been endorsing the worthy benevolences of the city. It is generally believed to have been the first commercial and civic body to have thus taken up the protection of the worthy organizations from the harmful results of the unworthy. In a variety of ways, it has been in a position to benefit the whole field of benevolence, besides securing for the benefit of the city the value of increased co-operation among charitable organizations. The new Federation stands as the result of the efforts of this committee to be useful both to the charitable organizations and to the city as a whole. For several years after its organization it kept hearing from the charitable organizations that it was manifestly becoming increasingly difficult to secure gifts from the public. At the same time—and somewhat to its surprise—it kept hearing from a large number of givers that apparently the needs were increasing with surprising rapidity because of the amazing increase of the number and urgency of appeals for funds.

Based on a Survey of Donations.

In order to discover what was causing this double difficulty the committee made two surveys of the whole field of giving. In 1909 they were surprised to find the same factors which had so puzzled them in 1907. It was found, that is, that less than 6,000 persons were contributing $5 or more to any or all of the seventy-three charitable organizations studied! Of these, less than six persons were found to be subscribing 42% of the money subscribed in the city to charity. Two hundred and fifty-three were giving almost three-fourths of all. Furthermore it was found that whereas the amount contributed had increased 22% between 1907 and 1909 in the same time the number of contributors had *decreased 11 per cent.* It was also found that the growth of charitable organizations was much more proportionate to their financial canvass and its effectiveness than to the intrinsic worth of the various works. It became evident to the committee that the chief difficulty lay in this fact: that "the cultivation of the non-giver and the education of the small giver does not increase proportionately with the increase of charitable needs." In times when there is no great

financial pressure, such education does not seem necessary. In times of financial stress it is too slow with its results. Hence every organization tends to follow the shortest road to the necessary funds, the road, namely, to the office or drawing room of the person already shown by the donor's lists of other organizations to be a generous giver.

The plan of the Federation, therefore, contemplates the carrying on of a unified, comprehensive and continuous educational effort for the purpose of securing a constantly larger number of "social stock-holders" —persons financially interested in the different works, well informed as to their worth and needs and so united in their appreciation of social problems as to constitute a body of enlightened people who can be constantly appealed to for the taking of progressive social steps in other ways than merely the making of gifts.

In order to permit the different organizations to give more time to this and also to free the givers from annoyance of manifold appeals, each organization agrees to make no appeal for current expenses to persons making their gifts on the Federation subscription blank. Of persons not making their subscription on this basis the federated organizations remain as free as ever to make appeals. In connection with special needs as for building, endowments, etc., the federated organizations agree to consult with the Federation's committees. The practice of raising money by the use of tags, tickets, etc., is to be discontinued as rapidly as possible by the federated organizations. "Only such organizations are eligible to the Federation as make to the citizens of Cleveland, without restriction to religious, denominational or other special affiliation, a legitimate appeal for funds with which to further their activities." The arrangement between a constituent organization and the Federation is subject to dissolution at the end of any fiscal year at the wish of either party.

Composition and Operation of the Federation.

Only such organizations as have the endorsement of the Chamber of Commerce Committee on Benevolent Associations are eligible, and out of fifty-eight eligible, fifty-three are now members of the Federation. Of the five not in the Federation, two make an appeal limited by religious or denominational affiliations. The Federation has been handling a good many gifts made to organizations in response to limited appeals. A total of $200,000 in pledges has been passed on to ninety-nine different organizations. Of the $200,000, three-fourths has been designated for particular institutions, one-fourth has been placed at the discretion of the Federation Board. This amount has been pledged by 4,200 persons, 2,063 of whom were not contributing to any of the federated organizations in 1912. Their gifts alone total $15,000. Many of these were secured by a city-wide canvass made by 300 persons of all creeds, denominations and colors during the first week of June. It is expected that while such a general campaign may be made at various times, nevertheless, the Federation will endeavor to unite the various

organizations in a co-ordinated and continuous campaign throughout the year with a view especially to securing new givers.

It has been found, to the surprise of all, that persons making subscriptions on the federated blank tend to choose nearly three times as many organizations as before and that this tends very greatly to increase the total amount contributed. An additional factor looking in the same direction of an increase of gift is that the federated subscription blank apparently makes it possible for the first time for many years to know the total of their gifts. The Federation officials were greatly surprised after sending out their first subscription blanks to have numerous inquiries, "How much am I giving and to what?" It seems certain that the increase of organizations federated giving over the old form, following these two causes, will amount to fully 50 per cent.*

In a great variety of ways the Federation is endeavoring to make more general and more genuine the interest of the public in the various forms of social activity represented by the Federation. The Committee on Research and Publicity is securing about one full page of newspaper publicity each week regarding the city's various social problems and social activities. The use of moving pictures and the organization of a lecture bureau offering free the services of the city's social and civic experts are contemplated steps. It is the Federation's firm belief that unless the relation between organizations and the public as a whole can be made even closer than before, the plan will not be a success. More thought has been given probably to this phase of the whole problem than to any other.

In a word the federated plan of appealing and giving is a great deal more than simply a scheme to secure efficiency and economy in the handling of money. Fundamentally there is an educational undertaking—a movement which has for its purpose the interpretation of social facts and social forces to the community in such a way as to secure the community's support and then to unify and to co-ordinate this general support in the way to make it most effective in solving what is after all the unified community problem of human welfare.

The Experiment Not Yet Conclusive.

I hope I have made it clear that the Cleveland plan is a carefully thought out attempt to meet in a fundamental way problems which are themselves completely fundamental. For that reason the testing of it will require time. Although the prospects are believed by the Federation's trustees to be of the brightest possible, nevertheless, it will doubtless be well for other cities to wait before endeavoring to put it into operation themselves. In Cleveland the plan is the direct outgrowth of the careful testing of the endorsement plan through a period of twelve

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*Not counting the new givers, it has been found that the organizations in the Federation received from the same persons that were giving in 1913 and are now in the Federation 57% more than in 1912.

years. It is the logical step next after such endorsement and should only in the most exceptional cases be attempted without such experience with the endorsement plan. If matters continue to go as well as they have gone we shall look forward to being of service to the whole country in providing a satisfactory solution to what has undoubtedly become a national problem of large proportions—the problem of philanthropy. This problem is too large probably to be assigned on a permanent basis either to private effort exclusively or to public. Government is undoubtedly going to concern itself more and more with human welfare as after all the most important of its responsibilities. Outside of government efforts in this or other directions I make bold to express my belief that the Cleveland plan has larger possibilities for human welfare than any other extra governmental undertaking at present in the public eye. I need not assure you that we shall do our utmost to enable the undertaking to realize our own—and, I believe I may say, your own—expectations of it.

Probation, Prisons and Parole

THE HONOR SYSTEM OF PRISON LABOR.

Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull, Portland, Oregon, Representing Governor Oswald West.

Is it not strange that in this nation which calls itself the most progressive of all nations, the honor system of prison labor should be so unique and so new that it is given a leading place among the important programs of this National Conference; of so recent a date that its inauguration should be viewed with suspicion, ridicule and disapproval. To one, however, who looks at the under side of the fabric of our nation's life the circumstance is not a strange one. The test of a nation's civilization is its care of its weakest members. What is the enduring value of a civilization which shows a balance of ninety per cent. of its school children who never reach the high schools? Whose educational system is being pronounced inadequate because it has failed to meet the requirements of its youth in their industrial life? What is the status of a civilization which permits the helpless inmates of its prisons and reform schools to be exploited for private gain? The picture is an ugly one, and the last accusation is the ugliest, because the crime is committed in the name of justice and reformation. Are there words strong enough to be used in condemnation of the stupidity, the benumbed conscience, of states which permit the selling of the labor of their convicts for 10, 20, 35, 45 cents a day—creating a system which brings into competition with free labor of this country millions of prison-made articles. There are scheduled by the American Federation of Labor over two hundred trademarks of prison-made goods which are on the open market—shirts, shoes, stockings, overalls, pants, boys' knickerbockers, cigars, petticoats, underwear for women and children, furniture. The grasp of the Ford-Johnson Company of Cincinnati on the prisons of several states is so rank as to be notorious. Think for a moment of the utter stupidity of a system which claims to reform a man by depriving his family of his support, which makes of him a number, which uses every effort to break his spirit, which deprives him of sunlight, fresh air, wholesome food, normal companionship; which says to him, "you have broken one of society's laws; we will now show you how to be good by treating you as we would not treat a helpless animal. We will even give your strength and skill to a power that shall become rich and influential because it can exploit manhood's strength."

When we permit our intelligences to become saturated with the truth of this idea, we no longer wonder at the uniqueness of the honor system. The American public has been so long accustomed to the Dishonor System that we are amazed at the nerve of the venture when we find a governor who has the courage, the sympathy, the belief in men, to say that his administration shall not be disgraced by the "Dishonor System"—I refer to our own Governor West, of Oregon.

Described in Words of Governor West.

Lest the history of his work should lose anything in the telling, I shall read his own story of what he is doing for the convicts in the Oregon prison and let you judge for yourselves whether or not Governor West's honor system shall live. This is what he is doing—doing in spite of the opposition of many of our "best people," of the politicians, of many of our leading newspapers—all of whom have fought the West prison policy from the beginning—not because they did not recognize the humaneness of it, but because it was a departure from the established order of things—because it might become good political capital. All sorts of objections are still being urged against it, after over two years' trial. Governor West says:

"We have secured the abolition of all forms of prison labor contracts and the adoption of the state use system. Our laws provide:

" 'All wards of the State who are capable of a reasonable amount of work without physical or mental injury to themselves shall be used as fully as possible in the production and manufacture of articles for the use of and in the performance of labor for the State, but it shall be unlawful to enter into any agreement or contract with any private person, firm or corporation for the employment of convicts—or to place prison-made goods on sale in open market in competition with free labor.'

"In order that the men made idle through the abolition of the prison labor contracts might be given suitable employment, various industries have been started. We are thus fairly able to place each inmate at work where he will prove most productive, thereby preventing the great economic waste which prevails in nearly all prisons through either permitting the men to remain idle or by placing, for instance, an electrician in the kitchen cleaning pots and pans, or a first-class painter or machinist at work currying horses or feeding pigs.

"The prison farm of several hundred acres affords employment for about fifty men and produces an abundance of farm and garden produce so that the needs of our institution along these lines are pretty well taken care of. Our splendid dairy herd gives a good supply of milk, and much of our pork comes from our own pens. Our poultry yard is one of the best in the state and supplies our needs in this direction. The farm products furnish a prison fare far ahead of that offered by most of the states and at a very low cost. Our prison fare, including that of the officers and guards, costs us less than six cents per meal.

System Approved by Voters.

"Voters of our state, through an initiative measure passed at the last general election, declared most emphatically for the working of prisoners on the county roads and at the several state institutions.

"The law provides: 'Upon the written request of the county court of any county in the State of Oregon, or of any superintendent of any State institution, the Governor may detail from the State penitentiary such convicts as in his judgment may seem proper for use on the public highways, or on or about any State institution. Said convicts shall be delivered to any county court, or to the superintendent of any State institution on such terms and conditions as shall be prescribed by the parole board and approved by the Governor.'

"Our road gangs are made up of from fifteen to twenty-five men, with a free man as foreman. The foreman lives and works with his crew. He is selected with reference to his fitness for the particular work to be assigned him and his ability to handle men. His word is law in camp and his report as to the conduct of the prisoners carries great weight with the prison officials. It is most essential, therefore, that great care be exercised in the selection of these foremen. We have had unexpected success in the operation of our road gangs. Some have been maintained as far as three hundred miles from the prison and nearly all in the hills and mountains where every opportunity has been given the men to make their escapes. At first we lost a number of men, due largely to the novelty of the plan and the unjust newspaper criticism which made many of the men fear that the policy would be abandoned and they would be returned to the prison. Today, however, there is little or no trouble. There has been less newspaper criticism, and the public, seeing the merits of the system, is accepting it as a settled policy, and aid and encouragement are coming from every quarter.

Conduct of Road Camps.

"Our camps are usually pleasantly located. The buildings are constructed from rough lumber by the convicts themselves and afford very comfortable quarters. We allow the men 25 cents for each day's work, together with a clothing allowance of 15 cents, making a total allowance of 40 cents for each workday. Fifteen cents allowance provides the men with all necessary clothes and relieves the state from making provision in the usual way. The prisoners take far better care of the clothes thus purchased and the arrangement proves a great saving to the state. Good food is provided at a cost of about 35 cents a day per man, or just twice the cost of feeding the men confined within the prison walls. The prison labor costs the road districts or counties therefore 75 cents per day per man. The state is entirely relieved of the expense of their keep, it being borne by the county or road district where the camps are maintained. In certain instances, camps have been maintained through funds donated by good roads enthusiasts.

"The prisoners sent to the different institutions to work are as a

rule permitted to remain there both day and night. They are allowed 25 cents a day for their labor. As soon as they can arrange through their earnings, or otherwise, to secure citizens' clothes, they are at liberty to discard their prison garb. This is pleasing to them as it renders them less conspicuous while at work and makes them feel they are one step nearer freedom and restoration of citizenship. (Stripes were long ago abolished both inside as well as outside the prison.) This concession also inures to the benefit of the state as it is thus relieved from furnishing the usual supply of clothes.

Earnings of Prisoners.

"One-third of the inmates are employed in the maintenance and upkeep of the prison; one-third are utilized in the operation of the prison industries, and the remaining one-third in institutional and road work. It has been so arranged during the past two years that most of the outside workers and some of the men on the inside have been allowed 25 cents a day for their labor. As only the deserving men have been granted this seemingly small, but to the prisoner great, concession, it has had a wonderful effect upon the conduct of the men. The profit-sharing plan eliminates the loafer and stimulates industry, thereby increasing production which far more than offsets any seeming loss to the state through the payment of such prize money. About $10,000 per annum has been distributed among the men during the past two years as a result of the adoption of this policy."

This is what the Governor West prison policy is and it is safe to say that when the tax-payer realizes that the new system will reduce the cost of maintenance of the prison—when the humanitarian is convinced that instead of making money for the private contractor, the system is making men for the state, when the wife and children can be supported out of the convict's earnings—the critics of Governor West's honor system will be silenced.

Interstate Convicts.

You must hear also what he says as to "Interstate Convicts":

"One of the most serious problems that prison managements have to contend with is the floating criminal, or interstate convict. Each state can fairly solve the problem of caring for its own lawbreakers, but finds it difficult to deal with those who spend their lives doing time in prisons, first in one state and then in another.

"It is easy for us to get a line on the citizens of our own state when sent to prison but it is next to impossible for state authorities to get the record of an interstate convict. It is buried where only the federal government is capable of unearthing it. I am, therefore, very much in favor of national legislation which will enable the states to turn over to the federal authorities all prisoners sentenced to our state penitentiaries, when it is discovered that they have served time in some other state, that their sentences may be served in some federal prison. This

would gather all such repeaters where they could be looked after by the only authorities capable of looking after them—the federal government."

The Honor System is simply recognizing the fact that a convict is a man—that every human impulse and aspiration was not sacrificed when he yielded to a temptation and—was caught at it; that he will respond to an appeal to his honor quite as quickly—a little more quickly perhaps—when it is the supreme test of the moment rather than an incidental test. And after all, when one follows an accused person through his experience from the time of his arrest to the time he enters the prison doors, one becomes more and more convinced that many of our criminals are the products of our lawyers and the courts. Our lawyers have made a fetich of precedent, and our judges have made a sword of Damocles out of their fear of reversal by the Supreme Court. So the man in the toils of the law, no matter what has brought him there, is simply a poor subject for experimentation. When once convicted, if rich, he can pay his fine, or appeal the case, but if poor, off he goes to prison and once there under the Dishonor System which our sleeping consciences have allowed to get a strangle hold on our prisons—once there, he is robbed of every incentive to be a man. It is the most cruelly wasteful policy yet devised by an otherwise apparently decent civilization. And yet, knowing all this, our Governor is assailed, abused, threatened, persecuted, and all because he has dared to recognize the man behind the criminal mask society has placed upon his face. It is high time we extended the honor system to the police, to the lawyers, to the courts, to the prison attendants so that the man instead of the crime may be considered. The success of any system depends in a large measure upon the persons who come in contact with the criminal, so called. If the police were trained to consider the man instead of the act, if the lawyer thought more of the man than of proving his case, if the judge thought more of the man and less of precedent and the prescribed penalty for the crime, and if the prison official knew more of the man and less of the political influence which keeps him on his job—and if society—you and I—gave more time to thinking of the causes of crime and of the conditions that make criminals than we do of building huge institutions that are simply schools of crime—then Governor West's honor system and his prison policy would be the national policy and would not be unique in their isolation.

ADULT PROBATION AND PAROLE IN NEW YORK STATE.

Frank E. Wade, Vice-President State Probation Commission, Buffalo, New York.

Adult probation has been established by law in twenty-two states of the United States and in the District of Columbia. Its efficiency

has been demonstrated as a disciplinary and friendly process designed to improve the conduct of persons over sixteen years of age convicted of criminal offenses and released on suspended sentence under the oversight of a duly authorized officer. In many communities where it has had free opportunity for development, it has become a great constructive agency in the reclamation of offenders. If substantial results secured through gradual growth are the test of social experiments, adult probation has surely won its title for extension.

Adult probation emerged out of the conservative judicial procedure of the Eastern states. It was applied for the first time in a practical form in the city of Boston. The first adult probation statute, in fact, the first probation law of any kind, was enacted in the state of Massachusetts in 1878. Adult probation was successfully administered for over twenty years in Massachusetts before its adoption in any other state. Rhode Island, New Jersey and Vermont next in order established adult probation systems in 1900, and New York State in 1901.

Development of New York Probation System.

During the period from 1901 until the organization of the New York State Probation Commission in 1907 adult probation grew up here and there in the state in a desultory and undirected way. Comparatively few courts adopted it, and when used, it was applied with fair efficiency in some places and indifferently in others. At the close of 1907 there were 143 probation officers in the state for both adults and juveniles, 35 receiving public salaries, 22 policemen and court attendants assigned to probation duty, 5 privately paid officers, and 81 volunteers. About two thousand adults were under probationary oversight.

The State Probation Commission upon its organization at the close of 1907 undertook to develop, improve, unify and extend the probation work in the state. It prepared a set of standard forms and record blanks and supplied them free of cost to all the courts in the state adopting them. It advised and encouraged the appointment by County Judges of county probation officers salaried by boards of supervisors to act in the courts of the county and in courts of the justices of the peace in order to extend the system into the rural sections of the state. It prepared and circulated literature and publications on probation. It organized an annual conference of probation officers, and an annual conference of magistrates, publishing the proceedings of both conferences. It originated and assisted in movements for securing publicly salaried probation officers in cities and counties in the state. It investigated good and bad probation conditions and published the reports. It drafted practically all the probation legislation enacted after its organization.

The number of adults released on probation and the number of publicly salaried probation officers under such direction and encouragement steadily increased each year. During the year ending September 30, 1912, 10,040 adults were placed on probation in the state. On the

1st of January, 1913, there were 588 adult and juvenile probation officers, 159 receiving public salaries and 429 volunteers and privately paid officers.

Getting Efficient Probation Officers.

Experience in New York State has shown that salaried probation officers should be substituted for volunteers wherever possible, especially in adult work. Volunteers have been enthusiastic and devoted for a time but as a rule have not been dependable. Private interests and pleasures have often interfered at most inopportune times with the steady regularity needed for efficient probation oversight. Volunteers have been used the most advantageously under the direction of salaried officers and in connection with an organization equipped to supply their deficiencies and occasional neglect.

The public should almost as reasonably expect to conduct the correctional institutions of the state under volunteer officials. While sentiment operates vitally in the redemptive nature of probation, and in the personal contact of the officer with the probationer, the disciplinary features of the system are essential to its success. The probationer is constructively deprived of liberty just as much as if he were confined within four walls. He is forbidden to do certain things which a free man can do within the law. His freedom of action is restricted, and he is compelled to report regularly and expose his private life and affairs to the officer. Such rigid and definite requirements in addition to the friendly nature of the probationary relation call for officers of character and ability, specially trained and working continuously.

Police officers and other officials connected with the criminal system have also failed in New York State to do the most efficient probation work. They have been generally lacking on the friendly and constructive side of probation. Their judgments have been harsh and their patience short in dealing with human weakness, and it has been hard for them to win the confidence and affection of the probationers. The use of such officers has been discouraged as much as possible, and they are being gradually eliminated from the service.

The State Probation Commission early advocated the appointment of publicly salaried probation officers by judges from lists prepared under competitive civil service examinations, and recommended that in the rating approximately fifty per cent. be allowed on the written work, and fifty per cent. on an oral examination testing personality and experience. Nearly all the publicly salaried officers in the state have been appointed after competitive examination so conducted. Good probation officers have been discovered and secured in this way. During 1910 and 1911 a determined effort was made in New York City to break away from the civil service requirements, but the Court of Appeals sustained the mayor and fixed the status of the appointment of publicly salaried probation officers under competitive civil service.

Practical Conditions of Probation.

Probation officers in New York State are required under the law to make a preliminary investigation of the antecedents, character and circumstances of persons accused of crime whenever directed by the court, and to file a written report to aid the court in the disposition of the cases after conviction and before sentence. When probation is used, the probation officer must give to each probationer a written statement of the period and conditions of probation. It is his duty to advise and assist the probationer in finding employment and straightening out his troubles. The probation officer must require regular personal reports from the probationer generally once a week, and sometimes oftener, and visit him at his home as often as possible. The probation officer must keep full records of the cases and accounts of money collected and report on each case once a month to the court, and send a general monthly report to the State Probation Commission. Judges and not probation officers, are expected to personally discharge probationers at the end of their terms of probation.

Excellent results have been obtained in New York State in applying adult probation for the reform of felons, especially first offenders, young men and in child abandonment cases. Misdemeanors and the minor offenses such as petit larceny, disorderly conduct and violation of ordinances have yielded readily to probation treatment. The offenders in many of the minor cases are not criminally inclined and a chance to redeem has been all that was necessary to save them from the stigma of prison confinement and possibly a criminal career. Fair success has been had in the supervision of men and women convicted of public intoxication, but it is not claimed that probation is the best method of handling such cases, except in suitable instances where friendly non-institutional supervision is all that is needed. The New York Inebriety Act of 1911 has provided a more scientific treatment in requiring hospitals and correctional institutions on farms in addition to probation.

Probation conditioned upon the payment of a fine or restitution has worked out admirably in New York State. Formerly large numbers of adults convicted of minor offenses were sent to jail, because they or those dependent on them could not pay a fine; under the probation system, in proper cases, the fine is paid in small installments to the probation officer by the probationer who remains at work and supports his family. Restitution has been used considerably in New York State. It has been applied in most cases with discretion, and judges are advised that restitution must never be made a collection agency and must always be paid out of the earnings of the probationer.

Origin of Domestic Relations Court.

The Domestic Relations Court is the most important institution which has developed out of the use of adult probation in New York State. The first Domestic Relations Court on record grew up out of

probation conditions in the city of Buffalo. In the fall of 1909, a salaried probation officer was appointed in the Police Court. The police magistrate selected from the large number of convictions in his court mostly non-support cases for probation, and the amount of money collected for family support, and the good work done in the homes was so suggestive of greater possibilities in a field previously neglected, that when the Buffalo City Court was organized in January, 1910, with a board of judges and flexible parts or terms of court, the judges, upon the recommendation of the State Probation Commission, assigned one term specially to non-support and kindred cases, calling it the Domestic Relations Court. Two Domestic Relations Courts, one in Manhattan and one in Brooklyn were established by law September 1st, 1910. All of these courts have had an extraordinary experience in the aggregate sums collected for the support of families from lazy and self-indulgent husbands and fathers, and in restoring family ties, and rebuilding homes. The Domestic Relations Court promises to be one of the most useful of our judicial institutions in its economic and constructive influence on demoralized, disunited and deteriorated families, especially in the cities of the country.

A fair judgment of the success of the adult probation system in New York State cannot be obtained from a study of probation conditions and statistics in New York City. While New York City has had good probation work in spots, there has been work not so good. Some of the judges in the past have not used the best discretion in the appointment of probation officers. Mere suspension of sentence, which is not probation at all, has been confused at times with probation. Religious questions and the conflict of private interests have also been disturbing elements.

Important Act of 1910.

The organization of the probation work under the New York City Inferior Courts Act of 1910, which was held up for nearly two years by the controversy over the appointment of probation officers under civil service, and is now becoming effective, marks a new epoch in the development of probation in New York City. When the judges of the Court of General Sessions in which most of the felony cases are tried adopt the methods of organization of probation work and appointment of public probation officers as established in the inferior courts, adult probation will take a long step forward in New York City. The processes are now at work and the way is being cleared for first-class probation supervision, and in a few years if conditions continue as indications point, and the persons at present interested in probation are permitted to exercise their influence, New York City is likely to become a center of well administered probation.

At the present time in order to get a good perspective of probation from its history and its statistics in New York State one must turn from New York City to other cities and counties of the state. The

results and statistics of adult probation in the county of Erie and city of Buffalo are selected as giving a sort of bird's-eye-view of the working out of adult probation under reasonably favorable conditions. The adult probation systems in Erie County and in the city of Buffalo were built up after the organization of the State Probation Commission and with its assistance. All the probation officers have been appointed from competitive civil service examinations. All the judges have been interested, and have joined in friendly co-operation with the State Commission.

Erie County Taken for Illustration.

The county probation office in Erie county was organized April 1st, 1909. It has dealt almost exclusively with felony cases in a county of over half a million persons containing a large industrial city. During the four years from April 1st, 1909, to April 1st, 1913, eighteen hundred and fifteen convictions, either of felonies or felonies reduced to misdemeanors, are recorded in Erie County. In these 1,815 cases, 1,520 preliminary investigations were made by probation officers and written reports filed. Eight hundred and five cases, or over 44 per cent. of all the convictions of felonies, have been placed on probation.

The crimes for which probation was imposed were, grand larceny 152; burglary 144; abandonment of children 122; assault (first and second degrees) 95; criminally receiving stolen property and larceny 89; forgery 17; highway robbery 6; manslaughter 3; felonies reduced to misdemeanors 78, and miscellaneous 81. The period of probation extended from one year to several years. 1,302 places of employment were found for 569 probationers. $61,671.03 was collected and turned over to families in child abandonment cases. $12,003.94 was paid by 166 probationers in restitution and reparation. During the period of probation, the salaries earned by 805 probationers amounted to $468,936.00. Seventy and eight-tenths of the total number of persons placed on probation during the four years have been discharged with improvement and made self-sustaining citizens.

The City Court of Buffalo was established on the 1st of January, 1910. It has jurisdiction of misdemeanors and the minor criminal offenses including disorderly conduct, public intoxication, and violation of ordinances in an industrial city of about 450,000 people containing a largely mixed foreign element. The law under which the court was organized provided for an effective probation organization. During the three years from January 1st, 1910, to January 1st, 1913, there have been 48,354 convictions of adults disposed of as follows: 28,515 suspension of sentences, 10,835 fines, 5,507 committed to penal institutions, and 3,497 placed on probation. The offenses placed on probation were petty larceny 892, non-support 864, public intoxication 455, disorderly conduct 377, violating city ordinances 271, assault (third degree) 241, and miscellaneous 397.

During the three years through the probation agencies of the Do-

mestic Relations Court $190,148.54 has been paid to families in non-support cases; $10,471.42 has been collected in fines, and $8,413.50 has been paid in restitution. The percentage of successful cases as reported by the chief probation officer is seventy-two and nine-tenths. The large number of suspensions of sentences and fines represented the check which the judges of the City Court placed on the activity of the police in making arrests for trivial offenses, and indicate the failure of our large cities to grapple intelligently with the problems of inebriety, prostitution and other social vices.

Conclusions Regarding Probation System.

The following conclusions applicable to adult probation work wherever instituted can reasonably be drawn from the history, statistics and experience of adult probation in New York State:

FIRST: Courts should be given unrestricted discretion in the selection of cases to be placed on probation.

SECOND: Publicly salaried probation officers should be appointed by judges from a competitive civil service examination in which fifty per cent. is allowed on written work and fifty per cent. in an oral examination testing personality and experience.

THIRD: Preliminary investigations by probation officers are essential to the proper exercise of probation.

FOURTH: Salaried probation officers are preferable to volunteers, and when volunteers are used they should be under the direction of a salaried officer.

FIFTH: Police officers and officials connected with execution of the criminal system are not desirable probation officers.

SIXTH: Adult probation can safely be used in a good proportion of the convictions for felony, especially in the cases of first offenders, young men and family deserters.

SEVENTH: Adult probation should be applied extensively in the treatment of misdemeanants and minor offenders.

EIGHTH: The payment of fines and restitution under probationary supervision is advisable in selected cases, the payments to be made in small installments out of the earnings of the probationer.

NINTH: Domestic Relations Courts should be established everywhere, and may be branches or special parts of existing criminal courts.

TENTH: A State Probation Commission or Central State Authority should be established for the supervision, development, extension and improvement of the probation system.

Parole System Began with Elmira.

Turning now to parole, New York was the pioneer state in the development of the parole system. Parole grew out of the use of the indeterminate sentence and was first applied in the United States in

practical form in the organization and management of the New York State Reformatory at Elmira. The statute of 1877 drafted by Z. R. Brockway provided that the courts could not fix or limit the duration of sentences in commitments to the New York State Reformatory at Elmira, but the period of imprisonment was limited to the maximum penalty fixed by law for the crime. The board of managers of Elmira Reformatory was given the power to release the prisoner on parole, at any time when in its discretion the prisoner was qualified, and to terminate the sentence when in its discretion he had made good on parole. Under similar laws extending the use of the indeterminate sentence the splendid reformatory system of New York State has been developed. Reformatory institutions for men and women and training schools for boys and girls have been erected and large numbers of persons are annually released on parole.

A limited form of the indeterminate sentence applicable to the state prisons which may more accurately be described as a maximum-minimum sentence but is defined in the statutes as an indeterminate sentence has grown up in New York State. It first appeared as an optional provision in the laws of 1889 and did not seem to meet with the favor of the courts. It did not make much progress until 1901 when, under certain conditions, it was made mandatory on the courts. Its widest use has been since the organization of the Parole Board in 1907, and under the amendments of 1907, 1909 and 1910 to the prison and parole laws.

Under the present provisions of the parole laws the courts are required to use this form of the indeterminate sentence in committing to the state prisons all persons convicted for the first time of a felony, except murder. The prisoner is sentenced to a term of not less than — years and not more than — years, the minimum period being one year or longer, and the maximum being any time, over one year, within the maximum penalty imposed by law for the crime.

All first offenders who have been confined in a state prison for any crime except murder under a definite sentence are brought under the operation of the parole laws, and the minimum period, before their cases can be considered for parole, is fixed at one-half of their definite term or sentence and not less than one year. Murder in the second degree, the penalty of which is life imprisonment in a state prison, is also included in the parole laws with a minimum period of twenty years' confinement.

All prisoners are entitled to apply for parole at the termination of their minimum periods. A Board of Parole consisting of the Superintendent of Prisons and two members appointed by the Governor hear the applications and determine from the history of the case and the conduct and record of the prisoner "whether there is reasonable probability that he will live and remain at liberty without violating the law."

The number of inmates admitted to parole from the various reformatories, training schools and state prisons has increased from year to

year. In 1912, 3,392 persons were released on parole in New York State, 922 from the state prisons, 1,245 from the men's reformatories, 227 from the women's reformatories, and 998 from the training schools for boys and girls. Only eighteen publicly salaried parole officers are provided by law, three for the state prisons, six for the reformatories for men, two for the reformatories for women, and eleven for the training schools for boys and girls. Valuable parole work is performed by private organizations, especially in New York City. The Board of Parole for the state prisons and the board of managers of each reformatory and training school has entire charge of its own parole supervision. The paroled persons from each institution scatter to all parts of the state, and it can be seen at a glance that thorough parole oversight is not maintained, and cannot be maintained under existing conditions.

Probation and parole have many elements in common. Both systems deal with offenders against the law released in society under official oversight. Similar reports are required to be filed with the responsible authorities concerning the conduct of persons on probation and parole. Similar friendly and disciplinary supervision, assistance and protection are expected to be exercised by probation and parole officers. The organization of the work and the purpose and methods of its application are in many respects the same, and similar economic and social problems are involved in both systems.

It does not stand to reason that there should be created a statewide probation system, and that each state correctional institution should also have a parole organization covering the entire state under traveling parole officers when the probation and parole oversight can be centralized and consolidated in local areas under the general supervision of a central state authority which will be able to utilize in the cities and counties of the state the parole officers, the probation officers, the agents of private organizations, and other social forces without repetition or waste of effort.

Movement to Co-ordinate Parole and Probation.

The State Commission of Prisons was the sponsor for a bill introduced in the 1913 session of the New York State Legislature, which, if enacted, would have tended to co-ordinate the work of probation and parole. The bill provided that the State Probation Commisson be named the State Probation and Parole Commission. The powers and duties of the Commission were made practically the same in the supervision of the probation and parole systems. The powers and duties of parole officers were defined, and they were brought into the same relation to the Commission as probation officers. The powers and duties of the State Board of Parole and the boards of managers of correctional institutions were not disturbed as paroling authorities or otherwise affected. Provision was made for the appointment of two field officers whose duties as defined were to inspect, aid, and instruct parole of-

ficers and secure local volunteer parole officers in all cases where a salaried parole officer or a probation officer was not available, the purpose being to create a system where every person on parole will be under actual supervision during the period of parole by an officer duly appointed under oath and reporting regularly to the paroling authorities.

The effect of such co-ordination ought to bring together into better perspective and proportion the correctional agencies of the state, and help to shape conditions toward the ideal system in the treatment of offenders against the law, which in my judgment, is that probation be applied in the free discretion of the courts wherever it can be used consistently with the welfare of the individual and the protection of society; that when the use of probation is not, in the judgment of the court, for the good of the individual, he be committed to a correctional institution, the construction, equipment and management of which will be designed to discipline, educate and fit him for a place again in society; that when it appears he has sufficiently improved at any time during the period of confinement, he be released under parole supervision until he demonstrates by his conduct that he is fit to mingle freely with his fellowmen.

THE PRISON OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Joseph P. Byers, Commissioner of Charities and Corrections of the State of New Jersey.

During the past week most of us have been straining our eyes in an effort to see, if we might through the mist, the mountains. With a similar exercise of your imagination I hope that some or most of you may be able to see the connection between the title of this address and the address itself.

Last week, in Portland, I sat in a public gathering and listened to a sweeping arraignment and general denunciation of our penal and reformatory institutions that disturbed me. First, because there was in the address a large element of truth—and it is the truth that hurts—and secondly, because the speaker failed to voice, even if he recognized the fact, that *all* of these institutions are not *all* bad or the further fact that in a great majority of them there are qualities of positive good. He characterized our county jails as the primary schools for instruction in vice. True, absolutely, and by no means a recent discovery. Our schools for juvenile delinquents as the grammar schools, where the instruction is continued. There is much, very much, to be said on the other side. Our reformatories as the high schools where criminal character is further developed—occasionally true, but why not speak of the larger number of cases where criminal habits are uprooted by the corrective influence of these institutions? And our prisons as the universities where the higher education and finishing touches in

crime are received. Too often true! But why, by implication, leave in the public mind the idea that the officials of these institutions are themselves instructors and teachers in crime? Why weaken the public confidence in men and women who are fighting your battle with crime, who are the custodians of the hundred thousand and more convicted law breakers now in their keeping? Why not rather take account of the *good* results accomplished by them in spite of the awful handicaps you impose upon them in the way of unsanitary housing, lack of facilities for classification, political interference and vicious systems of labor, or, what is worse, laws that prohibit or unduly restrict employment?

Defense of Prison Managements.

These men are your servants, working with the tools and material you furnish them. Have they not, year after year, in public reports and at their annual conferences, called your attention to these things, as well as to the law's delay, the inequalities of sentences, and other crimes of society against criminals? Is it little that they have done in the almost general abolition of stripes and the lock-step, the institution of the indeterminate sentence and parole laws, improved sanitary conditions, the enlargement of privileges, the introduction of recreations, the grading and marking systems, better food and better cooking? For I say to you that these things have come from within rather than from without our penal and reformatory institutions.

But prison reform, in its broad sense, begins long before we reach the prisons. Our penal and reformatory institutions are after all but indications, symptoms of disease in the body politic and, up to very lately these are about all we have been treating. But more and more, and because we are beginning to understand them, we are giving our attention to causes, and these exist, for the most part, outside our institutions. So long as these causes do exist we shall need prisons and reformatories. But if we have had the notion that these are the final means by which law breaking is to be controlled, the medium through which crime is to be cured and criminals reformed, then we have indeed a narrow conception of prison reform.

The value of our institutions, their real value, is as laboratories where crime and its manifold manifestations can be studied, its causes discovered, and out of which shall come eventually both the remedial and immunizing agencies for its control and final elimination. If that sounds Utopian I can only say in defense that any ideal less than perfection is unworthy of those whom God created in His own image.

Prison reform covers, therefore, something more than the reform of prisoners and prisons. It leads back to the home, the school, the church, the community, the courts, our laws, heredity, to all of those influences or lack of them, that have operated, combined or singly, to bring men and women and children into prison. And therefore it is by an analysis of the criminal's character that we shall be able to learn at last not only *what* he is but *why* he is.

A Lesson from Early Prison Reformers.

In 1870 the first Prison Reform Congress, international in scope, was held in Cincinnati. That Congress in a so-called Declaration of Principles, laid the foundation for prison reform, not only in this but in all civilized countries of the world. Those principles, viewed in the light of our present achievements and past mistakes, are as sound today as they were forty-three years ago. They have been the basis for all the progress we have made and they still furnish our program for the future.

It is worth while, particularly at this time, when social reforms of every character are being urged by individuals and societies all over the land, for us to pause awhile to examine these foundations and the super-structures that have been erected upon them.

The Declaration begins by stating that "The supreme aim of prison discipline is the reformation of prisoners." It then proceeds to lay down the principles by which this purpose is to be attained. These include:

The progressive classification of prisoners based on character.

Rewards, more than punishment, as essential to every good prison system.

Indeterminate sentences, to be limited only by satisfactory proof of reformation.

Education as a vital force in reformation, and hence the need of the prison school.

Labor as the basis of all reformatory discipline.

The abolition of contract labor as prejudicial to discipline, finance and reformation.

Graded prisons, to include separate provisions for the incorrigible, the untried, younger criminals, and for women.

The uselessness of repeated short sentences for minor criminals.

Preventive institutions for juvenile delinquents, including truant homes and industrial schools.

More systematic and comprehensive methods for the saving of discharged prisoners.

Indemnification for wrongful imprisonment.

The duty of society to improve conditions that beget and foster crime.

The requirement from parents of full or partial support of their delinquent children in reformatory institutions.

The construction and management of *all* prisons by the state as essential to a complete system of reformatory establishments with some central authority "to guide, control, unify, and vitalize the whole."

Religion, of all reformatory agencies, as first in importance.

The Declaration as we have seen starts out with the following: "The supreme aim of prison discipline is the reformation of criminals."

We need to emphasize this at a time when the public mind is being disturbed by political demagogues and amateur reformers, the one foisting upon the prisons inexperienced and untrained officials, the other impractical ideas.

The word "discipline" is used, not in a punitive sense, but in its broadest interpretation, and this means discipline of body, of mind, and of will. This discipline must be exercised in a way and under conditions that will induce if not compel reformation.

Reformation means to make better. What does the average prisoner need to make him better? Just what you and I need! To begin with he needs the wholesome discipline of work, hard work, or at least the kind of work that he can work hard at *every day*. He needs fresh air, light, wholesome food. He needs the influence of example, of men whose ideals are higher than his own. He needs to learn that the way of the transgressor is hard. He needs to learn the wisdom of self-control; to recognize that for the violation of law there is a penalty. This penalty is punishment, and because of this we cannot dissociate the idea of punishment from any institution or condition where one is made to conform against one's will. Therefore it is the *will* that must be reformed until it shall reach the point where one wills to do what is right. To this end all that I have mentioned as to the needs of the prisoner must be made to contribute, and the prison of the 20th or 25th century must be equipped to furnish. The ultimate object of penalty is to make its infliction unnecessary. The fear of penalty makes us careful if it does not make us wise, but the criminal must be made to learn that however wise he is, however careful, however cunning, however resourceful, the penalty of violated law he cannot escape.

The Progress of Forty Years.

In the light of the Principles I have hurriedly reviewed what have we really accomplished in the intervening forty-three years? We have established in practically all of the states special institutions for juvenile delinquents; in one-third of them reformatories for young men; and *in four* separate prisons or reformatories for women. We have pretty generally recognized, and in most of the northern states adopted, the indeterminate sentence and parole laws.

We are still experimenting with prison labor with some fair hope that in the state use plan we have found a rational substitute for that half-brother of the lease system, contract labor. The utilization of the labor of prisoners for the production of goods to be consumed by the state, and in road building, farming, forestry and other conservation work, has passed the experimental stage. We have proven beyond any question that prisoners may be safely and profitably employed outside the prison walls; but this is not true of *all* prisoners and we must have a care lest in the application of this new idea, we grow over-sanguine. A prisoner who has not begun to feel "the restraining influences of

liberty" is not fit to leave the prison either for the open work of the road, farm and forest, or upon parole. But if, as I believe, from forty to sixty per cent. of the inmates of our state prisons and reformatories can, at some stage in their imprisonment, be worked outside these institutions, then the problem of employment of the remainder within the walls becomes comparatively easy of solution. The system of employment is bringing about a recognition of the right of the prisoner to have some share in the product of his labor, especially when he has wife, children, or parents dependent upon him for support. This right, or, if it is not a right, then this privilege has already been recognized by legislation or practice in a number of states. Possibly we may eventually go one step further and require him, from his earnings, to make restitution either to the state or to individuals for the wrong committed by him.

We have not yet recognized the principle of indemnification by the state for wrongful imprisonment.

Our prison educational systems, with a few notable exceptions are systems in name only. The possibilities of this work are probably best demonstrated in the state prisons of New York, where regular daily school work for all prisoners is carried on under a course of study arranged and directed by the State Commissioner of Education.

We have gone all too slowly in requiring parents to pay for the whole or partial support of their delinquent children.

We are hearing much these days about the defective criminal and it would sometimes seem from statements made that a major portion of prisoners are so mentally inferior as to make them irresponsible for their acts. There is danger in our giving a too literal interpretation to these statements and thereby seeming to relieve all offenders of responsibility for their acts. Undoubtedly many criminals are so mentally inferior as to bring them within the feeble-minded class. It is one of our chief businesses now to scientifically determine these cases and then to permanently segregate them under the custodial care of the state, not as criminals, but as defectives.

It is needless for me, before this Conference, to dwell upon the efforts now being made by society to improve conditions that beget and foster crime.

How far have we gone in organizing a real prison system? *Not far!* Our prisons and reformatories and jails and workhouses are administered as separate and independent units, with a consequent utter lack of system. All of these institutions should be placed under the supervision and direction of the state, to the end that out of the present chaotic condition a real and efficient state penal and correctional system may be established. An initial step will be the abolition of our present county jail system and the substitution therefor of houses of detention in each county for all persons held for trial or detained as witnesses; with a system of county or district workhouses to which all persons sentenced to imprisonment for minor crimes and misdemeanors shall be committed.

With these we must have such laws as shall, *First*, make compulsory the absolute separation, each from the other, of all persons during the time they are held in such houses of detention; *second*, as shall provide for cumulative sentences to such workhouses, with provision for parole, for all persons convicted and sentenced for repeated misdemeanors or minor crimes, and *third*, that shall provide for the setting aside of a reasonable portion of the earnings of the prisoner for the use of his or her dependent family, or as an aid to rehabilitation at the time of parole.

The state, as the law making power, must itself assume the custody and direct the treatment of those who are charged with the violation of its laws, therefore, in the construction and management of such houses of detention and workhouses, the state should have a controlling voice.

Opinion of an English Authority.

Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brice, head of the English Prison Commission, in an address before the American Prison Association held in Washington, D. C., in 1910, had this to say concerning a central prison system and our county jails:

> Is it possible, or likely, that America will follow the lead of Europe and adopt the principle that the State as supreme authority, shall be responsible for the treatment of crime in all its manifestations, that is petty as well as serious crime? In England our problem is more with petty than with serious offenses, with the hundreds of thousands who flock to the local prisons over and over again for perhaps trivial breaches of law and under short sentences. The solution is to be found in classification and differentiation, not in using the rusty instrument of imprisonment for short periods as the panacea for all and every kind of disorder or anti-social conduct, but to classify by groups, vagrants, drunkards, defectives, and to provide special instructions for special categories of offenders. Can America help us to solve this problem? Not, I think, until you recognize that the petty offender and the prisoner awaiting trial are as much a matter for State concern and control as the man under long or indeterminate sentence upon whom you are now expending so much thought and labor and expense in your state prisons and state reformatories.
>
> A good prison system is for the whole and not for a part, and the petty offender cannot and must not be excluded from the care of the state as the supreme authority for ordering and executing punishment.

His estimate of our jail system is endorsed by every authority on the subject in this country. Our county jails have been indicted, tried, and found guilty as unsanitary, immoral, medieval, crime-breeders. The English language has been exhausted in describing their pernicious and vicious influence and the truth of all that has been said we are forced to admit. They are pouring the virus of crime, of immorality and disease into our social system, in quantities too great to be overcome by all the anti-toxins our prison and reformatory laboratories can manufacture and administer. *What are we going to do about it?*

Religious Basis of Reformation.

Two weeks ago I sat in conference with a small group of prison wardens for a day and an evening. Among them were those who have given the best years of their lives to the administration of prisons and the successful handling of prisoners. They were men whose experience, sound judgment and knowledge of men have made them leaders, *recognized* leaders, among penologists. The day had been spent in a discussion of questions of administration, methods, labor, discipline, parole, and of the bearing of all these things upon the reformation of prisoners.

As the evening drew near the discussion turned more and more on what real reformation is. And then those men, who so often in the public mind are only calloused and hardened by the nature of their work, talked of the influence of religion in the reformation of convicts. With one accord they bore testimony to their belief that until the consciences and souls of men are touched and awakened by the regenerating influence of religion reformation is not complete.

When the wardens of our prisons and the superintendents of our reformatories bear such testimony is it not time for the church to arouse itself from sleep and hear again the commands of its Master to restore the fallen and bear the infirmities of the weak?

As we sat in the late twilight of a June evening amidst the odor of the honeysuckle, with the beautiful lawns and shrubbery of a great state institution in front of us, and behind us, within its walls, a thousand convicted law-breakers it seemed to me that these men were sending out a challenge to the Christian Church, and as I sat and listened on Sunday afternoon to the Conference sermon, I heard the same challenge.

And this call to duty will be, is being accepted, but it is not enough to issue the call; *we must show the way.* Most people want to do good; few know how!

What Can We Do?

What can we do? In the first place we can set our faces and influence against the miserable and criminal buffeting about of so many of our penal and reformatory institutions by partisan politics. We can put into the public mind the thought that these institutions were not organized to furnish place and power to political parties. We can see to it that competent and experienced officials are not displaced primarily because they are republicans or democrats. We can realize that these officials are not engaged in child's play but in the safeguarding of a most important public interest. We can remember that they are public servants and that the surest way to the getting of good service from servants, public or private, is to make them feel that you trust them, believe in them, and are interested not alone in their failures, but more in their successes. Intelligent and sympathetic public interest

is a safe stimulant for any public official and he cannot have too much of it. Few of them get enough.

These are some of the things we can do to strengthen the hands of those whose official duty requires them to live and work among men and women who have violated our laws. But does our duty end here? *It does not!* Have we no duty toward the prisoners? *We have!* How can we discharge it? By giving the paroled and discharged prisoner a chance. By remembering that the great majority of men who come from prison want to do better; that what they need at such a time is not ostracism, but a spirit of helpfulness, of encouragement, of sympathy.

Community Responsibility.

What are you and your community doing for the ex-prisoner? Your duly constituted authorities have punished and corrected him according to law and now turn him back to the community to have his rehabilitation completed. Will you receive him? Counsel him? Befriend him? Admonish him? Employ him? Welcome him into your church and surround him with all its helpful agencies? If so, then you will have done only your duty as Christian citizens. You will be disappointed many times, but remember that of the twelve disciples one went wrong and do not expect of our prison officials divinity of judgment nor from our courts perfection of law. The good results of our 20th century prison and reformatory treatment will grow and expand with the discharge by the public of its duty to the discharged and paroled prisoner.

Our ideal is of course the final abolition of all prisons and reformatories. We have but two alternatives; either to abolish law or abolish crime. We have chosen the latter. The agencies working to that end are innumerable. We have tried and are still trying to eliminate crime by legislative enactment; but laws, human laws, do not in themselves make men moral. That is something that works from within; but the process is greatly encouraged and expedited by external influence.

We have been spending our efforts very largely to improve the physical and mental. Let us hope that we shall finally reach up and into the moral and spiritual, which is the final step in all our work, to *re-create* in man not only the image but the attributes of his Maker.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. John J. Sonsteby, Attorney, United Garment Workers of America, Chicago, Illinois.

That paper on the Twentieth Century Prison was remarkable. It has been a revelation to me to note the tremendous changes that have

taken place in the last four years in parole and in the treatment of prisoners throughout the country. Within the past few years we have heard of probation and parole as a practical proposition for adults. Now we hear of the honor system, which is nothing more than part of the state use plan; that is, using prison-made products for the state. We have come to the point where we know that the ideal prison as suggested by Mr. Byers is not so utopian as it has been supposed to be. With the abolition of the contract labor system throughout the United States, which is now only a matter of a few years, prison officials will work out in their institutions a plan that will conform best to the needs of the communities from which the prisoners have come. Under the contract labor system that was impossible in most cases. Officials were handicapped by the fact that after the contractors had the men during eight hours of the day any ambition for the other sixteen hours of the day was taken out of them.

The Church and Social Work

ADDRESS.

John M. Glenn, New York, Director Russell Sage Foundation, Chairman.

In this Conference which collects people of all kinds and degrees of belief, the word church must be defined as the organized association for religious purposes of persons who believe in the same Almighty God and in the spiritual teaching which we believe has come from Him whatever may have been the connecting channel. This definition includes Jews and Christians, Greeks, Catholics and Protestants, Unitarians and Trinitarians.

From the point of view of organization, there are several kinds of bodies which we call churches. First, there is the union of a number of individuals in a single church; second, the union of a number of individual churches, with common belief and forms of worship and government. These larger unions may cover cities or states, or may be national or international. They are, in some cases, merely alliances of churches for mutual conference and sympathy, and in others highly organized combinations speaking authoritatively for their whole constituency through their general assemblies or synods or councils or other representative legislative bodies.

There is also another important form of church organization, namely,—federation of churches, sometimes local, sometimes national, united together for purposes of co-ordination and co-operation. The chief object of these federations is to secure joint expression and action in matters of common interest.

Churches must also be considered from the point of view of their relations to individuals and the relations of individuals

to one another. A church may consider itself a mere collection of individuals combining to hire a pastor to lead them individually to personal salvation. Such a church may preach and teach individual righteousness and may feel more or less strongly an obligation to carry or send a message of personal salvation to other individuals at home and abroad. And such a church will undoubtedly do much by increasing and strengthening individual righteousness, to maintain righteous standards in its sphere of influence.

But a church must consider itself also as a corporate entity. If it would own property or receive bequests, it must incorporate according to law. It thereby acknowledges that its members make a collective body and cannot act merely as individuals. Similarly, a church must often act collectively when it has to deal with problems and situations not purely religious. This is true of both the individual and the united church. Let us remember, too, that the spiritual pastors are not the church; they are only the leaders; the members and the pastor together form the church, and are jointly responsible for its conduct.

This detailed description is given because a clear conception of what is meant when we speak of a church, or the church, seems very necessary to a clear discussion of the relation of the church to social service.

Let us now proceed to consider whether churches, organized under any of the forms above named, have a social as well as an individual responsibility. The questions to be discussed here are: What should be the relation between such organized congregations and bodies, small and large, particular and general, and society? Have they direct responsibilities and opportunities concerning men's physical and social environment? Should they confine their activities to worship and the preaching of individual righteousness and obedience to God? Or must they prove their sensibility to the influence of worship and preaching by continuous, energetic, and effective striving to secure the recognition and enforcement by individuals and society of good physical and moral standards of living for all men: those without a church as well as those within.

Is it sufficient for churches to teach abstract principles of

righteousness, leaving each member to apply them as may seem best to him? Or should they also point the way to concrete action and achievement, and be leaders in the development of a social conscience and sense of responsibility for the elimination of evils that damage the community, and in the establishment of common constructive agencies and regulations, that will insure general normal physical decency and strength, and permit the natural growth of power in all?

What Is Social Service?

Before answering these questions, let us consider what we mean by social service. There has been, as yet, no satisfactory and comprehensive definition of this term which is becoming so popular. Nor is it easy, if indeed possible, to give it precise definition. But it may be sufficiently limited to give a fairly clear conception of what is meant when we use the words. At the present stage of progress, it seems better for the term to have too limited, rather than too extensive a scope, because it will then be easier for those who have not yet clearly grasped the significance of the subject to see the beginnings and the general trend of the trail. They will not be so bewildered by paths diverging from the main track. Prof. Rauschenbusch, in a recent address, which was otherwise clear and notable, spoke of the rearing of children and the performance of home duties and the relief of distressed individuals as social service. But this is extending the meaning of the term so far that it ceases to have any distinct meaning. We must in this connection distinguish between personal service and social service, between services to our own families and to individuals on the one hand, and service that affects whole classes of people or the whole community, on the other. Service to an individual which makes him capable of self-support or makes him stronger morally is beneficial to society. But that should not be included in the term "social service."

The churches have realized, at least theoretically, that it is their duty to consider the physical, as well as the spiritual well-being of their individual members and of the individual poor, and they have endeavored—sometimes wisely and thoroughly, sometimes feebly and unsympathetically—to fulfill

this duty. Institutional churches have been established through recognition, on the one hand, of the value of supplying opportunities for drawing their members together for wholesome social intercourse and education and recreation, and on the other hand, of the important part that such opportunities play in drawing outsiders into membership. They represent a good step forward and their action is based on the sound theory that mutual acquaintance and friendship among individuals are strong factors in spiritual progress.

The churches have not on the whole realized that they have a duty to assume social responsibilities, to know and understand their neighborhoods, their cities and their special localities, to examine into actual conditions of living and learn what they are and what may be done to improve them and to insist that their own members, as well as the state, shall do their utmost to abolish patent existing evils. There has been too much willingness to be ignorant of unpleasant things, too much easy going blindness to the troubles and needs of numbers of our fellowmen. No church can claim to have at all done its duty or faced its rightful responsibility unless it has been constantly alert to seek and find everything that is destructive of men's physique and men's souls that may lie within its reach.

It is not enough that a church shall take good care of its own members, no matter how fully it may supply them with spiritual food. If a church has not inspired its members to bold adventure in behalf of the weak and for the sake of the community, it has no right to call itself a church nor to think that it is listening to the call of its great Head. The function of a church is to fight without ceasing and if it is to repel the enemy, it must strip itself of hindering conventions and deterring details, and arm itself with keen zest for cold facts and earnest love for human beings as such, whether or not they may be connected with it.

We are warned that social service will interfere with the preaching of the Gospel, that it contains too much thought for worldly welfare, that in working for material decency it will lose its spiritual vision, will lessen its communion with its God, will become a mere social agency. Could anything be farther than this view from the teachings of Moses and Isaiah,

of Jesus and Paul? These great leaders and lovers of men were full of zeal for the temporal welfare of men. They emphasized not only individual obedience to the law and the commandments, but they make it clear that seeking the temporal welfare of men is an essential part of righteousness, an essential part of any gospel that would lay claim to being God-inspired.

Social Problems That Restrain Spirituality.

What are some of the problems which are restraining men's spirituality that the church might be attacking with reasonable hope of success? Some of them are so easily discovered and their solution so clearly possible, that there can be no doubt about the wisdom of dealing with them at once and forcibly. Others are more complicated and the way out more difficult to see.

One of the most shocking and easily cured evils is the increase of the feeble-minded—the begetters of numerous degenerate children. The remedy is in their segregation by the state, especially of the females. Should not the churches arouse themselves and their states to the horrors of this evil and seek its prompt abolition by the legislature? So doing they will relieve misery, remove an ubiquitous temptation to vice and lessen expenditure for pauperism.

No church that pretends to follow the teachings of Isaiah or of Jesus can escape responsibility for considering the plight of the prisoner and the criminal. Yet the interest of churches in the welfare of these unfortunates has been largely confined to seeing that chaplains on low salaries are supplied for penitentiaries and the larger jails. This is a case where mercy for the individual and the welfare of society alike demand that the churches should exert every effort to make the sinner clean and equip him for independence and urge constantly upon the community the adoption of intelligent methods of treatment through probation, reformatory training, parole or punishment as varying cases may require.

A church will help a sick man. Does it not follow that it should exert itself to prevent disease and to see that in its community everything possible is done to prevent disease—to stop infant mortality, tuberculosis, typhoid, insanity, acci-

dents, the effects of overwork and all other things preventable that drive human beings into hospitals, almshouses and graveyards?

No church will attempt to deny that the saving of men and women from vice and its consequence is one of its main duties. Is its duty done when it preaches purity to its own members? Can any church in any city claim that it has no responsibility for horrible conditions in brothels and saloons which are boldly offering every inducement to the stranger within a stone's throw? The churches should be sharply on the lookout for the stranger, not satisfied with welcoming him with warm sentiment indirectly delivered, but meeting him face to face, making him feel that they have a genuine sympathy to offer and are ready to make sacrifices for his welfare and advancement. Nothing would do more to lessen vice than the active, persistent exercise of practical sympathetic effort of this kind.

Shall a church attempt to solve some of these problems of industry which are thought to be so ticklish? Why not? It cannot help but see them unless it willfully buries its head in the mud. It is an unquestioned duty of the church to teach and to demand of everyone, high and low, rich and poor, the exercise of high moral standards. No church can properly be satisfied until it has done its best to impress its message of moral uprightness and physical decency on every individual it can possibly reach, whatever their station in life. But its appeal cannot be effective unless men are given the means and environment that permit moral and decent methods of life. Good moral and physical environment does not necessarily produce good men; but lack of wholesome environment prevents wholesome development of character. In this world a reasonable amount of this world's good things is necessary to spiritual growth.

How can a church claim to be God's church if it fails to seek earnestly for the weaker members of society and to stand boldly on their behalf for the establishment of proper standards of education and living? Can it retain its self-respect if it makes no protest against the overworking of young children and women; against the crowding of people into narrow, un-

lovely, unsanitary quarters; against the payment of such low wages as make normal family life impossible for the recipients? Indifference and inactivity concerning such things seem frightfully unrighteous and ungodly.

It is not a question of fighting all landlords and employers, it is a question of standing for the welfare of the whole community; of protecting reasonable employers and landlords, as well as the poor and weak, against selfish and cold-blooded ones. If the churches will assume their full responsibility and stand out boldly as champions of social righteousness, they will gain many more souls than they will lose members—they will increase their support, they will attract the strongest and most vigorous of our young people and they will immensely increase the spiritual power of their communities.

Practical Methods to Adopt.

How can the churches as churches deal with social problems? It is not possible to map out a definite program that will apply universally. Each church must make its own program according to the needs of its community and the instruments that are at its command. But it is possible to make some general suggestions applicable to any church.

1. A church's members should study community problems and carefully consider what are the wisest methods of attacking them, so as to destroy the bad and build up the good.

2. A church should co-operate with all intelligent and well administered social agencies, public and private, getting the benefit of their knowledge and experience, and leaving to them everything that they are equipped to do within their respective spheres.

3. A church can provide for its members, young and old, elementary instruction and courses of study in social questions, and it can bring those who need further instruction or training into touch with institutions and agencies that are equipped to teach and train.

4. A church can insist that theological seminaries shall give courses dealing with social questions, and training to their students through direct contact with the poor under trained

social workers, so that their graduates may lead wisely in healthy, sound social progress.

5. A church can make its influence felt in politics by insisting on pure and honest administration in government and on the choice of clean, strong men for office, in local government at least; and by expressing itself clearly and publicly as to legislation and policies which will clearly aid or hinder social righteousness, according to the church's conception of it. Its members should, collectively as well as individually, constantly express their sympathy with honest and wise officials and speak their minds frankly to selfish and careless ones. Incidentally, a similar policy should be pursued toward owners and managers of newspapers, which should be looked upon essentially as public agents, not merely as private critics.

6. A church can federate with other churches to do these and other things where the power of combination is necessary to bring good results more speedily.

The gospel of spiritual salvation and the gospel of social service are not distinct and separate. They are parts of the same gospel, of God's gospel—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy mind." This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets. Read the Law and the Prophets, read the Sermon on the Mount, read the simple human standards that distinguish the sheep from the goats, with open minds and souls, and who will dare to say that the churches have fulfilled their whole function when they have taught and listened to doctrinal and moral teaching. The study and teaching of theology is fundamental and vital to religion; but the theology is empty and dead that does not inspire to righteous activity in practical affairs. The greatest religious leaders from time immemorial have been far-sighted and practical; they have taught the doctrine that the love of God and the love of man are alike parts of the same religion—that through the love of man, through every-day, practical service for the weak and unfortunate and erring, is the surest and quickest entry into sympathy with God. And they have practiced what they preached.

Social service is the practical, inevitable, necessary consequence and complement of true spiritual belief. They are mutually essential.

We need social agencies, we need legislation, we need many secular forms of activity to help in social betterment. But we need above all things a thorough regeneration, an awakening to mutual relationships and responsibilities and opportunities all through society. To this the churches should lead us. The power of the churches to compel the world to learn and to live righteousness is greater than any other power on earth. Spiritual power is the only power that can save us from the powers of wickedness and degeneration, the only power that will cleanse and purify the world of the tyranny of selfishness, the only power that will bring peace and good-will between individuals, classes and nations. Let the churches be awake and doing with saneness, patience, boldness and love.

All churches can agree about many of the problems of social righteousness and the methods of dealing with them. All can agree to study together more thoroughly the facts and philosophy of other complex problems about which they have not come to conclusions. Practical social service affords a common platform for action on which all may stand together as nothing else does. Working together for human betterment means fuller mutual understanding and appreciation and deeper sympathy, which may lead us all to see with clearer vision what are the real and eternal truths of religion, and bring us to that unity and universality of spiritual life for which we pray devoutly.

THE SOCIAL WORK OF A CHURCH FROM A LAYMAN'S VIEWPOINT.

Alexander Johnson, General Secretary National Conference of Charities and Correction.

We have had many addresses and papers at the Conference and elsewhere upon the function of *the* church in social work, and some papers on such topics as, "What the Church, as a Denomination, may do in Social Work." The purpose of this paper is to sketch a possible program for *a* church, meaning a body of people meeting together for worship and social uplift in one particular house.

While recognizing the splendid social work that some of the large institutional churches have accomplished, especially in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, it is manifest that such work is possible in comparatively few places. The vast majority of churches must undertake social work, if they undertake it at all, in a simple fashion.

One of the interesting things in the history of the National Conference has been the way in which representatives of different classes of social agencies have come one by one to attend the Conference sessions and to find themselves a part of its work. Forty years ago the constituent social agencies that made up the Conference were limited to the state boards and state institutions, and a few private philanthropic societies. Slowly other agencies have found that they also belong to the Conference, two most notable recent instances of accessions being those churches which are active in social work and certain commercial organizations.

The Agencies of Social Service.

We may group the agencies at present most representative of the Conference into four classes: namely, public boards and officials, private charitable societies, commercial organizations, and the churches. Each of these four views social work from a slightly different angle, according to the particular nature of the main function for which it exists.

Because each of these agencies exists for a certain definite purpose, it therefore necessarily thinks in terms of its own special department. The state boards and institutions think in terms of the care of the wards of the state, i. e., the dependent, defective and delinquent. These are chiefly non-combatants in the economic strife. They are the wounded and sick of the social army, yet they are just as much parts of the army as are the strong and healthful. If the public agencies look at all towards prevention or reformation, it is that the task of relief may be lightened. It is not the function of the government, as such, to make people either moral or prosperous. It must take great care that its work of relief or restoration does not increase the evils which it would cure or prevent.

The great commercial organizations think in terms of material prosperity. But material prosperity does not mean, in common thought, precisely what it meant a few years ago—vast individual fortunes, enormous manufacturing or trading industries. It means, as it never did before, a large, contented, industrious, prosperous, orderly citizenship. So the commercial organizations are taking part in all those measures that promote such a citizenship; public health, clean streets, parks and playgrounds, public baths, art galleries, better schools, vocational training—all these are recognized by the progressive commercial organizations as means of securing that social betterment which they would promote. Their horizon is widening enormously of late years, but after all their point of view is, and should be, that of the greatest general

material prosperity and all these other things are promoted because they conduce to and help that.

Similarly with private philanthropic agencies. Of late years the function of the relief of distress has been comparatively discredited. We like to say, and to believe, that preventive and constructive philanthropy is better than relief work and is some day to make that kind of work unnecessary. But, after all, the main purpose of private philanthropic agencies is the alleviation of misery. If they devote themselves to prevention, it is that there may be less misery to relieve. Their own thoughts and impulses are based on compassion and sympathy. It is the call of suffering that appeals to them.

Now comes the church, which represents organized religion, and it also hears a trumpet call to social service, but its call comes upon another plane of emotion and thought. I know of no better phrase to express the purpose of the church than that of bringing in the Kingdom of God upon earth, and I use this term in no mere theological sense, certainly in no narrow sectarian sense. I believe we have in this phrase a great ideal—so great that even its present common use cannot wear it out—a thought which is common to social service and religion, like the two sides of the same shield. In social service we express it as the "Brotherhood of Man;" in religion it is the "Fatherhood of God;" in social service it is the "Solidarity of Human Society;" in religion it is the "Kingdom of God on Earth;" in social service it is "The Golden Rule;" in religion it is the "Joyous Obedience to the Will of God."

I take it that a church exists to make this great thought, this wonderful ideal, into a practical, real thing down here among the common haunts of men; that this is its great opportunity. In the words of Washington Gladden, "The Church is here to saturate the minds of men with the principles of social justice as they are revealed in the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount."

Now, if there is anything in the theory of the solidarity of human society, and these four main kinds of social agencies, which I have briefly enumerated, belong together, then each of them has not only its own certain, specific task but also a certain duty and obligation to each of the others. Orderly society requires that each one of us do his own work, but that he do it in relation to the work of all others. And this implies no mere delimitation of tasks, but a cordial and living co-operation. Every man, therefore, must not only ask himself how he can best do his own work, but must interest himself in the work of his neighbor and stand ready to help him. This co-operation and helpfulness is what the term "associated charities" means. It is one of the important reasons for the existence of the National Conference. We have only just begun to co-operate and even our societies which exist for co-operation, as expressed by their names of "Federated Charities," or "Charity Organization Societies," or "Council of Social Agencies," are far from living up, in fullness, to their own fundamental ideal.

I have no time, nor is it the purpose of this address to outline the

methods by which each of the four great kinds of agencies to which I have alluded may work upon the others. I shall only express that of the church. I believe that its chief function in the whole societarial enterprise is that of inspiration. Its business is the setting forth of high ideals; it must make men believe that they are the children of God and so the brothers of all of God's children. It must hold up a great ideal of what "brotherhood" means—it must teach its own members first, and then its neighboring city or town what religion requires in the way of social service. It must stand for social leadership in the community.

Church for Practical Service as Well as Inspiration.

Now, this leadership must be of two kinds: ideal and practical, thought and work. A preacher of religion has the greatest opportunity of anyone to set forth high ideals; his people come to listen to him, they expect to be given thoughts that come from the heart, as well as from the brain. They expect to have their emotions stirred, not merely their intellects excited. If a minister be himself inspired, he can give out inspiration. If to him the "*salvation of souls*" means the rescue of men, women and little children from low and degraded lives to lives of peace and sweetness and joy, then every social effort for the help of these men and women and children he will recognize as part of the Father's business, as a help to doing the task for which he and his church exist; namely, the bringing in of the Kingdom of God, the establishment of the brotherhood of man. To a preacher so inspired, slum housing, child labor, defective education, overwork, starvation wages, preventable diseases, vile politics, will appear to be just as much the works of the devil and just as worthy targets for his own attacks as drunkenness or gambling or theft or adultery or blasphemy. He will realize and tell his people that these evils are the banes of society; and because these great evils are social in their nature and their causes, they cannot be met and conquered individually; because every member of society suffers when any member is hurt by these social sins, the obligation is upon every member to labor to avert them. They are in the way of the establishment of the Kingdom of God and it is a part of the work of organized religion to clear them out of the way.

On the occasion of the installation of a new minister into a leading church in a middle western city, Oscar Carlton McCulloch, who had taken some part in the exercises, standing on the platform as the people were beginning to disperse, turned to the new minister and said: "My brother, what are you going to do with it?" The minister asked "With what?" Said McCulloch, "With this magnificent social force which you have at your command; these splendid men and women whom you are to lead and counsel; against what great social evils are you going to hurl this force? Towards what splendid achievement of social uplift for the city are you going to lead it?" The new minister said, "I never thought of it in that way before." But he did afterwards, and for many years his leadership was of great social value in that city.

But if the minister is the inspirer of ideals, who must put them in practice and how must this be done? This is evidently the task of the laymen in the church, and the minister's best success is measured, not by the size of his audience, nor by the amount of collections, nor even by the number of members, but chiefly by the way in which the laymen of his church act; first, as to their own relations with society and second, as to the social life of the community.

A Luminous Example.

A church often must be satisfied not to attempt great things, but to greatly help in many things—some small, some large. Here is a program which was put in operation by a church, small in number and composed mainly of people without much money. It was organized by the laymen in the form of a men's club. The club held monthly meetings, the members dividing themselves into a group of committees, each having four or five members. Each of these committees concerned itself chiefly with one kind of social work. For instance, one committee charged itself with studying and helping the work of the charity organization society; another, the children's aid society, another the juvenile court and its probation officers, and so on with the various important social agencies of the city. At the monthly meetings brief reports were received from time to time from these committees, but at a quarterly church supper to which the women of the church were invited by the men, fuller and more detailed reports were presented. Meanwhile each committee was at work among the membership of the church getting help both in work and in money, for the particular social agency that it had under its charge.

It was usually very easy for a member of one of these committees to get himself elected on the board of directors of a social agency, and without dictating or appearing to meddle, the method of work, financial and otherwise, of each social agency was carefully studied. In this way many minor reforms were effected and a great deal of improvement took place. In a small way the committee acted as a sort of charities endorsement authority for the specific agency it had under its care.

Then the club made a card catalog of all the attendants of the church, and sent out a questionaire asking them to indicate the social agencies in which they were specially interested. The answers were entered on the card catalog, and where it was found that a member of the church or a pew holder was not doing his or her share of social work, he was invited to take part in one of the agencies needing help at that time.

The church, as an organization, found it desirable to have at least one piece of social work of its very own, especially so as to afford opportunity for its younger members to take part. Accordingly a clubhouse, with a library and reading room, was established in a section of the city, not very far away from the church, where a great many laboring people lived. Here clubs and classes were conducted for men and wo-

men, boys and girls. Frequent entertainments and lectures were given for the club members and others.

Among the features of the men's club above described was that of occasional lectures on social topics. These explained new features of social work or well known features which needed emphasis. The topics of the lectures, among others, were the Child Labor Movement; the Minimum Wage and Eight Hours Movement; the Movements against Commercialized Vice and the Housing Movement, and many others.

Occasional lectures were also given on other topics. The superintendent of the state school for wayward boys was invited to address the men's club on the work he was doing. Another address of the kind was on the State's Work for the Insane and Feeble-minded; another on the Reformatory for First Offenders. One member of the club was a state senator, and he gave a very interesting lecture just after the session of the legislature on the Social Work of the General Assembly.

In the above, and many other ways, the men and women belonging to this little church attempt to correlate their religious life with their life and duties as citizens. Incidentally, the minister never misses a favorable opportunity to apply religion to the social aspect of things, and although he is sometimes criticised for bringing politics and reform movements into the pulpit, the majority of the church members support him most heartily.

THE CHURCH AND THE COMMUNITY.

J. W. Magruder, D. D., General Secretary Federated Charities of Baltimore, Maryland.

Three weeks ago a company of ministers constituting a clerical club in Baltimore, and representing nearly every denomination, had me as a guest for the day on a cruise down Chesapeake Bay. During the day one said to me: "We don't need any argument, so far as we are concerned, as to the social obligations of the religious man. That goes without saying. What we want to know is this: Believing as we do that there is no such thing as a religious life unless it is a socialized life, how can we really tie up our religious life to our social life? How can we tie up the church to its community work and responsibility?"

The answer that came to me is one that has been exemplified by the church to which Mr. Johnson has referred; and it is being exemplified by two or three churches of as many different denominations which I call to mind. It is being exemplified, I am sure, by churches of every denomination; and we shall hear more of them as the years go on. There is one church of a city represented in this Conference, where the initiative was taken not by the minister, but, what is more important for us in this discussion, by three laymen. These laymen had become thoroughly socialized in their convictions as regards the Christian life, and

were determined that their church, located about two miles from the center of the city in what is known as a residential neighborhood, and consisting of eminently respectable families constituting what is sometimes called a family church and one which could settle back into a condition of smugness and sweet content, should not take life easy but should be aroused to a social consciousness and conscience. They were of one mind that the church should work out its destiny not for itself only but for the community. They were not very long in securing a minister and later another, and now a third, all three of whom by a happy providence, were kindred souls, and socially minded because spiritually minded. What is the result? In a conversation which I had sometime ago with the minister now in charge, he told me the outcome, and his story served as my answer to the query of the clergymen with whom I was out cruising. He said that first the men of his church set themselves to the task of listing all the jobs there were to be done, beginning in the church itself, then reaching out in the parish as distinguished from the church proper, and then out into the neighborhood as distinguished from the parish, and finally out into the whole city. All the jobs for men and women, young and old, and I don't know but that those for all the boys and girls, too, were included in the list. Then these men set themselves to studying the members of the church and classifying them into those who were already loaded to the limit, then those who were bearing only a part of the burden of which they were capable, and finally those who were doing practically nothing at all. Next, taking the members who were loaded to the guards and as such doing their full duty in the church, or in the parish or in the neighborhood or in the community, or in all four, they gave these yeomen servants to understand that in bearing not only their own burdens, but the community burdens, i. e., "one another's burdens," they were fulfilling the law of Christ; that they were ideal churchmen and representative Christians. Then the members who were working, if at all, only up to a fraction of their capacity, and not "pulling their whole weight," these were taken aside, one by one, and it was laid upon their conscience as a matter of solemn duty which they owed to God and man, that they accept responsibility for more and more work; not for themselves, not even for the Church, but for the Kingdom of God. And then, finally, the members who were lazying along in the church and the kingdom, counting for little or nothing more than ciphers, these were dealt with individually and collectively and given to understand in no uncertain terms, that they were sinning the sin of omission; that they were inviting upon themselves the condemnation of the Final Judgment, the excommunication of those who "did it not;" that it was up to them, before God, to search out their several duties and discharge their obligations, and to make themselves each count for one in the church, the parish, the neighborhood, the community. Every new member joining the church was subjected to a religio-social survey such as Mr. Johnson has been describing, with a view to ascertaining his proper place and

work in the redemptive scheme and making sure that he got his definite assignment.

Membership Increases with Assumption of Social Duties.

Today the membership of that church runs not into the hundreds as it used to, but has mounted into the thousands. I was so impressed by it as a socialized church, with its widening range of social and spiritual influence, that I asked the minister to make a map of the city, showing the location of the church, of the organizations and institutions of every kind in which it is represented and of the number of its members engaged in each of these agencies; visualizing the church and its membership by a system of thumb tacks and tapes, thereby enabling anyone to see at a glance the ramifications of its work and the distribution of its workers. Its members are charted in the Chamber of Commerce, in all the charitable agencies, in the health and recreational organizations, in the labor unions, in the social settlements.

It has two members in a settlement four miles away, on the opposite side of the city. I asked the minister, "When you assign members to distant points and they become absorbingly interested there, do they not drift away from the church, so that eventually you lose them?"

"Lose them!" he exclaimed. "Why, we couldn't lose them, if we would; we couldn't drive them out of the church. It is such a new and novel sensation to have a church stand for the things that this church stands for, that the members take a positive pride in belonging to it, and they travel for miles, passing by other churches, to get to its services. Take, for example, the mid-week service. A few elect souls used to come together to pray and sing and tell of their religious experiences; most of them women. Today, the mid-week service is crowded, and with the men in the majority. And when they come together, it is to speak of their experiences not merely as individuals but as members of the church, the parish, the neighborhood, the community, including the Chamber of Commerce, the labor organizations, the social settlements, or what not. They are like the Seventy Elders returning from the first missionary journey, ablaze with enthusiasm and exclaiming to their Master, "Lord, even the devils are subject unto us in thy name!" There is the note of reality, of worth-whileness and of conquest in their souls.

Such a church does not spring up over night; the kingdom of heaven in its working is like leaven. To my personal knowledge this particular church was ten years or more in developing. And is it any wonder, when we think of its progressive policy, that it is a factor in the life of one of the seven largest cities of this country, which always has to be reckoned with? I asked a member of this Conference, a resident of that city, whether he knew the minister of this church. "Know him?" said he. "I should like to have you find anyone in my city who does not know him." "And," he continued, "when anything that has to do with the welfare of the people is proposed in our city, we never think of taking a step until we have ascertained what that minister and that church

are going to say and do about it. If they approve and line up with the proposition, then there is a feeling that we must be right and that things must shortly come to pass."

Let a spiritual church become socialized, and a social church become spiritualized, and you have an institution not only alive but irresistible; ordained and commissioned of God to bring in the kingdom of righteousness on earth as it is in heaven.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK.

Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, Secretary Congregational Social Service Commission, Boston, Massachusetts.

The most momentous struggle that is going on today is the fight for the community. The forces that are arrayed against each other are fighting for the highest stake, the welfare of humanity. The Church has its part in the community and it cannot stay out of the social struggle. A friend of mine in Chicago, pastor of one of our churches, said that he felt every time that the telephone bell rang that he would like to run away. He is coming to feel that he must grapple with some of the social problems in that twenty-second ward in Chicago, or get rid of his telephone. The problems are so real and pressing, it is impossible for him to do his work and remain there unless he takes hold and helps fight for the new community and against those forces that are tearing down and destroying everything that he is trying to build up. If we look for the church to do any work that is worth while in a social way it must know where it is located. That does not mean on what street its buildings are erected. It must know its location in the community. It must know its relation to the community. It must know the problems of the community. Take the average man living in a community, unless he belongs to the labor union, he does not know that there is one unless the men happen to go out on a strike. The average church member does not know whether the mayor goes to his office at nine or ten or eleven or twelve o'clock, nor even where his office is unless the mayor does something that ought not to be done. Then every church member immediately forms an opinion about the mayor. It is so with the police force and every part of the city administration. The church ought to know the problems of the community, the problems that are being faced by the working men and working women. What kind of organizations have they? What are their problems?

The next thing is to relate these problems to a program and a task and the preaching of the church. We hear it said that the church is in the community to maintain a high ideal, to lift up the standard for the people, as Mr. Johnson said, to preach doctrine. If I understand anything about the history of religion, anything about the history of doctrine, every great doctrine has developed out of some experience,

some great soul. There has not been a single experience or doctrine in the church but has behind it some great truth. If we miss experience and simply preach the doctrine, we are missing the greatest lesson that the doctrine can teach us. Isaiah, Jesus, Francis of Assisi, all the great souls have taught us what sacrifice means. The church ought to emphasize the value of sacrifice by making sacrifice mean what it did in the first century. It meant the sacrifice of the lower to the higher, the destruction if necessary of cherished plans and purposes that the greatest good may come to a community.

Where Is the Church Located?

One man in Brooklyn, pastor of a church, said that he knew where his church was and he knew his community, that there wasn't a finer group of people in the city than the people he preached to every Sunday. But he got to thinking how he could bring something practical to them, and so out of the rashness of the hour he announced he would preach a sermon on the subject, "Ten Minutes from the Church." He said he started to get his sermon on Tuesday morning. From the church he walked ten minutes. He came to a row of barns, went in and found that they were mule barns and there were a lot of fellows living in them and families living upstairs. The children of these families were not in the school. They were passed by. Next Sunday he preached to his congregation about their neighbors at the mule barn. The following week he started in the opposite direction and he came to one of the finest schools in the city. That Sunday he preached on education and the responsibility of the church for educational institutions. Next week he found a square that had been passed by, by the city administration. A man came to him and said: "In which direction are you going next? Are you going to take a balloon?" He told me that after going into his community he was utterly surprised that such things existed. He said he didn't think his self-complacency would ever get back to the level where it was before.

In one of the southern cities a pastor had in his congregation a group of men eager to do things. He said to them: "Let's take a camera and find out how our people live." They went into some back alleys and took pictures of the miserable shacks people lived in. In one house four families were using the same vault. Washing was being done there for the aristocrats and their clothes were hanging in the courtyard drying. The following Sunday evening that minister preached a sermon on "The homes of some of the people in our parish," and he showed the pictures. Then he announced that he would find out during the week from the building department and the court records to whom those houses belonged, and he would tell it in his next sermon. He found that a part of his salary was coming from the rentals of those houses. That man is lifting up a high ideal. If it is true that the Church is supported out of the rentals from buildings that are murdering people, the time has come for the church to know it. And the time has come for

the church to preach a kind of righteousness and a kind of sacrifice which means that if a man wants to stay in the church he has to get rid of his old, disease-breeding tenements, and give the children a chance.

Down in Providence they have made a map of the city and divided it, giving to each church its own field or portion of the city for which it is held responsible. The churches there are learning what is going on in their respective communities, and they are relating their work to the associated charities and to the child-caring agencies, and all those forces of the community that make for uplift. They are bringing the teaching of Jesus Christ down to present times, and insisting that there be less singing about the sweet by and by, and more about the now and now.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK.

Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D., St. Paul, Minnesota.

I should like to approach this subject first from the angle of the two-fold criticism that is directed against the Church with regard to its attitude toward social questions and social work.

In the first place we have the complaint that the Church is not giving enough attention to social work, social service, and the teaching of social justice. We are told that the Church ought to be concerned with every social problem, and be as directly and immediately concerned with it as any agency that may have taken that particular part of the social field for its own. This, I think, is a great exaggeration; because the logical conclusion of this sort of criticism is that the Church ought to become almost wholly a social reform organization. If that be true, I think the Church had better go out of business as a Church; because I believe there are other agencies that can occupy the fields of social work to greater advantage, and discharge the task more effectually than can any Church. The best illustration I can think of just now of this type of criticism is found in writings like those of Professor Rauschenbusch. There are very many fine things in his books; but the conclusion of that kind of doctrine is that the Church's business is almost exclusively with things of this earth, with social betterment. I say that when the Church takes that view and narrows its field in that way, it is to my mind ceasing to be the Church.

The second form of criticism is of the positive kind. It blames the Church for taking any interest at all in social matters, or trying to preach any sort of social gospel. This doctrine would imply that the business of the Church is somehow to go through with certain exercises which are confined entirely to the precincts of the church building. The theory that the Church has no mission except to do its purely and strictly religious work, carrying on those religious services which take place on Sundays at a given hour in the church, is as far from the truth as the

other. I believe, and the Church to which I belong teaches, that the primary function of the Church is to save souls, to bring the human soul into such relation to God, and into such harmony with God and his purposes, that it will be fit for permanent union with God in the life to come. That may be old fashioned and other-worldly; but it certainly is the theory of the Church to which I belong; and it is the prevailing theory in most of the churches that I know anything about.

But does that mean that the Church has nothing to do with the social life of its people, or with social service and social problems? Not at all. The church's business primarily is to put people in right relations with God. But an individual cannot be in right relations with God unless he is also in right relations with his fellows. All Christians believe in the two great commandments, and perhaps some who are not Christians: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind; this is the greatest and the first commandment. And the second is like unto it. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." There is such a thing as conduct, and it is the business of the Church to teach right conduct. The individual cannot be kept in right relations with God unless his conduct generally is right, not merely his conduct in the matter of going to church on Sundays, and those things which have to do solely with the individual. Conduct refers to all of man's relations to his fellows.

How To Define Right Conduct.

In our time a large part of a man's every day relations with his fellows has to do with economic and industrial matters. We are told that the Church is failing in her duty to teach righteousness in this matter of industrial and economic relations. We are told that the Church has a great deal to say about chastity, stealing, quarreling, blasphemy, and so forth, but nothing about the relations which arise in the economic field. I think there is some truth in that criticism, but the trouble with most of those that utter it is that they assume that righteousness in the matter of industrial relations and economic or social justice is a very much simpler thing than it really is. It is not simple at all, and never has been. It was manifestly simpler in the Middle Ages when the whole scheme of industry was much less complex than it is today. To hear some people talk on this subject you would suppose it was the easiest thing in the world to prove that this man is getting too much profit, hence his profit is unjustly made; that that man's wages are too low, hence he is not getting full justice. I am not saying that the Church is doing all that ought to be expected of it in this matter. The thing is tremendously complex and difficult. It seems to me that if Pontius Pilate wanted to give a real poser to succeeding generations, his question should have been not "What is truth?" but "What is justice?" I think that is manifestly the more difficult of the two questions.

There is, then, this task of teaching morality, which is one of the primary duties of the Church. Morality includes social morality, and

the Church is not doing it as fast as we should like, but I think some progress is being made, and we ought to have patience. We must remember that although Christianity is 1900 years old, it has extended its influence over only a small portion of the world, and over that portion only imperfectly. And yet it has given us a greater measure of social justice, and enlightenment with regard to social justice, than any other agency that has ever come upon earth. The Chinese had a civilization when your forefathers and mine were roaming the plains of Europe as savages; but where are the Chinese today so far as social justice is concerned and social service, as compared with us who have the heritage of the Christian religion and its institutions?

Just a word with regard to social service. I have tried to indicate my firm belief that religion, the teaching of religion, and the saving of souls are the primary functions of the Church; but these include the teaching of morality, social as well as individual morality. Of course, moral teaching is the function of the Church in so far as it is necessary as a means to right living. Just how far any particular form of social service is conducive to right living depends upon circumstances of time and place. In the Church to which I belong the institutional type has long been very prominent, orphan asylums, homes for the aged, boys' clubs, settlement houses, etc. Just how far they should be undertaken, which ones are necessary, are matters for each community to determine. And the principle underlying the decision in all cases, it seems to me, must be the conduciveness of the undertaking to right living, to righteousness, to right conduct in the fullest sense of the word.

Health and Productive Power

REPORT FOR THE COMMITTEE: THE PUBLIC HEALTH SITUATION.

Livingston Farrand, M. D., New York City; Executive Secretary National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

The title assigned to your Committee, Health and Productive Power, is capable of more than one interpretation. Without being familiar with the considerations in the minds of those responsible for its choice, I infer that it is to be regarded as synonymous with that term which has become so common of late as to be instinctively avoided by many, viz.: efficiency. The fact of daily usage to the point of triteness, however, is often but a demonstration of the truth of a statement or, at least, of the importance of an idea. This is eminently the case in the association of health and efficiency and calls for no discussion. It is now a matter of universal acceptation that personal or public efficiency, mental normality, family equilibrium, yes, sound citizenship itself, reduces in the last instance largely to terms of physical well being or health.

Our present task, therefore, is not to discuss the justification of associating health and efficiency but to select the angle from which to view an undisputed correlation. This selection depends upon the intrinsic importance of the points of view and upon their relative expediency and adaptability to discussion in these surroundings.

With these considerations in mind, it has seemed to me wise to present for consideration not the importance of sound personal hygiene and health for the individual but rather to offer for discussion the present status of the public health movement in this country and the part which we as organized social workers can play in assisting to achieve its ends.

Earlier Problems Have Developed.

There have been several developments in this field of public health in recent years which it is well for us to assimilate thoroughly. With the revolution in medicine by which within our own generation what was an imperfect art is taking on the more accurate outlines of a science, with the shifting of ideals from remedy and cure to the far grander object of prevention, with the discoveries in pathology and bacteriology which have made the change even conceivable, there has come about an equally fundamental modification in the conception of the opportunities and responsibilities which relate to public health. A clear appreciation of this change and the conditions which now confront us is, therefore, the first demand.

The popular conception of the function of official health administration remains for the most part what it was a generation ago. The operation of a pest house for the occasional victim of one of the more dramatic or repulsive of the acute contagious diseases, the inspection of plumbing to prevent the inhalation of that esthetically unpleasant but relatively harmless agent, sewer gas, the cleaning up of garbage and waste, the protection of food supplies and lastly, and perhaps most firmly intrenched as the great function of a health department, disinfection by fumigation after contagious disease.

The accumulated knowledge of thirty years has modified to an astounding degree the expert point of view. Sewer gas remains as unpleasant to our nostrils as it was to those of our fathers, but it is negligible as a disease-bearing agent. Were there in our modern community a department of public esthetics, its control might well be assigned thereto. Similarly, garbage accumulation, save as it provides a breeding place for flies, can hardly be regarded as primarily a matter for the attention of health authorities. In short, the older theories of air-borne diseases have, for the most part, gone the way of miasms and humors and have cleared the way for the illuminating truth that the infecting agent is the infected person and that save in his immediate vicinity and under certain circumstances, the atmosphere is not the dangerous medium. This point of view foreshadows the modern attitude with re-

gard to disinfection—scrupulous care in rendering harmless the excreta and immediate surroundings of the sick person, quick and complete disinfection of what has been in direct contact with the patient, has taken the place of that form of disinfection by burning sulphur and formaldehyde, which has been described as "incense burned to the memory of bygone theories of disease."

The problem of protection of the food supply is perhaps the most difficult to treat in a paragraph and yet there is no other which at this moment is more in need of sane discussion and of rational handling. Infected water and milk are of course menaces of great importance to any community and their sources should always be under the sharp scrutiny of the authorities. They are, however, capable of efficient control and are rapidly being taken in hand. With the exception of water and milk, other substances are not, in the large, of great significance from the point of view of health. That there should be authority to prevent the sale of positively decomposed or dangerously diseased meat and fish, and that such authority should be exercised, is obvious. That there should be public excitement and hysteria over the danger to life and health from the so-called impure, adulterated or misbranded foods is most unfortunate since it serves to divert attention from the points of real importance, and this is precisely what is happening to a disquieting degree. There can be no difference of opinion as to the desirability of a pure food law, and its enforcement. There should, however, be a clear public conception as to the basis of its desirability and the grounds of the agitation for it. It is rather a question of economics, esthetics and simple honesty than one of public health. To quote a recent statement of Professor Winslow, "Doctor Wiley and his associates have made a good fight for honesty and cleanliness, a fight which should be continued, though now on more rational and less emotional lines. It is time, however, that a movement which is primarily economic and esthetic should cease to monopolize attention as a supreme factor in the public health movement, which it is not; and it is time that some of the energies which have been turned in this direction in the name of Hygeia should be diverted into more profit-

able channels. If the women's clubs of this country could be as actively interested in infant mortality and tuberculosis as they have been in pure food, we should see something approaching a sanitary revolution."

Of the prominent items in the old there remains in the new conception of the health department the treatment of the individual suffering from infectious disease. But even here, what a change of attitude! Instead of the pest house for small pox or cholera, we see the development of notification and registration of communicable disease as the fundamental prerequisite of intelligent action, *whether* by institutional isolation, supervision and nursing in the home or educational measures directed at the great modern goal of prevention. We see an awakening responsibility to deal intelligently with the centers of infection so discovered. We see a growing appreciation of the elementary importance of vital statistics in general as affording the only trustworthy basis for initiating new measures or guiding the administration of those already in force. We see an eager recognition of the advances of medical science which is constantly increasing our knowledge of the causes of specific disease and thus lengthening the list of those theoretically preventable and lessening the number of those still in the category of the unknown and obscure.

Responsibilities and Requirements of Public Health Service.

With this newer and broader conception of the problem of public health, with the realization that the task is first and last—prevention—has come appreciation of a fact which now seems obvious—that the essential basis of any preventive campaign is education.

Perhaps the most important single advance of recent years is the acceptance of the conclusion that the preservation of the public health is a public and, hence, an official responsibility. The health officer becomes the essential figure in the situation. It is not a field for the philanthropist or the amateur, medical or lay, but a field which calls for administration based upon technical training of the most rigid character; it demands the man of initial capacity, trained in medical and biological science and in sanitary engineering and inti-

mate with the conditions of housing and labor which underlie so many of our problems. Where we are to find him, or perhaps better, how we are to produce him, is one of the responsibilities of the moment.

But having found him and having placed upon his shoulders the heavy responsibility of safeguarding the public health by all the preventive means known to modern science, our own responsibility begins to take on more definite outlines.

It is coming to be a common saying that public health is a purchasable commodity—that we can have such a degree of it as we are willing or able to pay for, and within certain limits the statement is true. Certainly it is clear that in any of our communities adequate expenditure accompanied by enforced sanitary regulations will reduce not only the mortality but the morbidity in that community. In other words, the task with which our enlightened health official finds himself face to face is to obtain the financial provision and the legal power to carry out the steps which he knows to be necessary. With our political organization such as it is, public support is naturally indispensable. It is perfectly obvious, therefore, that here again we meet the demand for public education.

Without dwelling on details, the functions of public health education are these—to teach the known facts of disease and its prevention, to inculcate a sound personal hygiene, to demand and obtain efficient health administration and, lastly, to produce an enlightened public opinion that will support official effort to put in practice the teachings of science and experience as they relate to the health and betterment of the people. Realizing this situation, though perhaps often vaguely, there have sprung into being those unofficial organizations which have for their objects the fight on the more obvious of the preventable diseases. We see the inspiring campaign against tuberculosis, broadly conceived, carried into every corner of our land and already accomplishing results which would justify many times the expenditure of money and energy which have been devoted to it. The appalling infant mortality, for the most part so needless, has attracted its group of workers and in certain of our cities there have been demonstrated possibilities of life-saving that when viewed in the mortality

tables, seem little short of miraculous. Venereal disease, presenting at this time our most baffling, but perhaps our most pressing problem, is claiming the attention it deserves and is beginning to obtain it. Confused for the moment by well intentioned but none the less unfortunate personal prejudices and enthusiasms, we can still confidently expect that the organized campaign against venereal disease will soon unify and attach the public support its importance demands.

Mental hygiene has entered the field with a well thought-out program and a definite plan of campaign. The inseparably connected social fields of housing, child labor and the living and working conditions that underlie our health problems are being worked each by its own body of devotees and thinkers and with an effectiveness that is producing a revolution in our society and politics. At a recent conference held in New York of organizations concerned directly with different aspects of public health, over fifty bodies of more or less national scope were represented. Experience has shown that such specialization was inevitable and necessary. An attack must be concentrated to achieve success. The unavoidable bewilderment of the public mind is unfortunate but becomes insignificant when viewed in the light of results already in sight. At the same time, this rapid mobilization of forces presents new problems. This alignment of powerful agents and energies, inspiring and resistless as it is, creates new responsibilities.

Careful Direction and Coordination Needed.

The demand today is for wisdom in control and direction. The immediate problem calling for attention is effective coordination of the agencies that have been called into action. The high responsibility which rests upon us as leaders in this movement is such unity of action that, without loss of effectiveness or dampening of enthusiasm, waste may be avoided, extravagance may be eliminated and public confidence may be retained. What is true of the nation, holds for every center of population large enough to present a community problem. Difficult as the situation may be, obscure as its solution undoubtedly is, the recognition of its existence and the frank

acceptance of responsibility for dealing with it, constitute in themselves a long step in the direction of ultimate solution.

With these observations in mind, the public health situation is not difficult to outline. The responsibility is public, not private, and the health official is the chief figure in the program. To arouse and maintain a public opinion for his support is the function of private organization. This is education in its broadest sense. The efficient public health society is the one which labors day in and day out to make itself unnecessary. The finally successful organization is the one which has brought about conditions in the community which permit its disintegration and the release of its energy and experience to the solution of other social problems pressing upon our attention.

The immediate demand is for sanity and breadth in the conception of function, private and official. The expert knowledge essential to sound conception is now available. Signs are everywhere apparent that such knowledge is in active demand and that its teachings will be put into active practice. That final arbiter of results, the mortality table, has already shown that the predictions of the laboratory can be made the facts of everyday life. Surely we are justified in the confident expectation that the coming decade will witness not only a reorganization in method, but a complete justification in the reduction of preventable disease and in the increase of happiness and efficiency for all the expenditure of mind and of money, of time and of energy for the improvement of the public health.

THE CO-ORDINATION OF OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE HEALTH AGENCIES.

James F. Crichton, M. D., Seattle.

In the coördination of public health work, it is necessary that conscientious and long continued study be given to the matter, that mistakes may not be made, and as a consequence wrong conclusions be arrived at. Great social problems are pressing themselves upon us from every side; problems demanding the best brain that it is possible to obtain; problems that we all realize are far from being settled, and problems which we cannot settle in our own minds at this time entirely

satisfactorily. Sociological problems in public health work will occupy the stage for years to come. Men of the greatest calibre will study the questions which vitally concern all people, and soon proper lines of activity will be determined upon. Some time ago a technical magazine made a statement substantially as follows: "No science has made as rapid progress during the past few years as has the science of sanitation. The science of electricity has not advanced as rapidly as has this new science." With the stride of a giant, public hygiene and preventive medicine are marching hand in hand to prevent sickness and disease.

Men are willing to strive hard if they can but see ample results from their work. Perhaps this is the reason why work in the field of sanitation has occupied the attention of our most progressive cities and states. It has advanced so far that many hundreds of large establishments throughout the country, of one kind or another, have installed or are installing well equipped departments for the handling of matters directly affecting the health and lives of their employees. Great insurance companies are employing the best talent obtainable, to limit and prevent sickness, accidents and death. Some institutions are employing physicians and nurses to constantly supervise sanitary conditions in the workshop, in the factory, and in the store. These medical officers are raising the standard of health among those over whom they are placed, and this means more happiness, comfort, and better pay, which allows those who toil to accumulate more rapidly.

Service Rendered by Private Agencies.

Private health agencies are rapidly spreading broadcast to tens of thousands of employees the doctrine of public sanitation and of personal hygiene. The millions of units which go to make up the great mass of employees in this country are being taught how to avoid contagious and communicable diseases and what to do if, perchance, they or their friends become afflicted with such diseases.

The physicians and nurses in charge of this private work for public health are missionaries in the field of preventive medicine and sanitary endeavor. To them the public health officer looks for the reporting of transmissible diseases from their different establishments. Municipal and state health officials have gladly welcomed and are encouraging with all means at hand, the upbuilding and equipping of private public-health units, fully realizing that as sanitary work becomes better understood untold good will result on account of the education which these agencies will spread broadcast in our country.

Public health work now being done by private associations is of such great importance that the results almost stagger one. The knowledge now to be obtained without cost by a pregnant woman in not a few of our modern cities, is worth its weight in gold. A pregnant woman is at all times, unless she be surrounded by loving friends and living under good conditions, an object of pity. To a woman in such a condition, living in poverty, advice and sympathy come at a time when

they are of the greatest possible value. A competent nurse, after the baby has come, can show the mother how to take care of herself and the baby. She gives instruction as to how to feed the baby, how to clothe it, how it should be bathed and how to bring it up so that it may be a blessing to its mother and at the same time reflect credit upon the people who made it possible for the mother to be taken care of properly and furnished with instruction, food and advice at such a critical time. Private public health agencies have a wonderful field before them, in thus starting children aright, so that they may be able to compete with children born under the most favorable conditions.

The same private health agencies which are now operating and have operated for a number of years in those cities which care most for the comfort and happiness of the people, have another field of usefulness, that of control of tuberculosis, equal, if not more important than the field just mentioned. Tuberculosis can and without reasonable doubt will be abolished, not by medicine, but through proper education. No disease can be more readily effaced when the people once know what to do. Scientists have already shown us how this disease spreads and how this spread may be controlled. It is now the duty of private agencies, of individuals, of municipalities and states, to sow broadcast, correct information in reference to this and other diseases, and this will go far toward freeing the world of unnecessary sickness, sorrow and financial loss.

Necessity of Cooperation.

We are fast awakening to a realizing sense that harmony of action is all important. Co-ordination in financial undertakings succeeds, co-ordination in health work will succeed. In fact, the bringing about of harmony of action between individuals and between large masses of people in all vital questions which affect humanity, is at this time paramount to all other questions. Besides the strictly private public-health agencies, there are other powerful influences which are closely correlated to health endeavor. Sociological work is so closly interwoven that from now on the greatest advancement will be made through the united efforts of social and medical forces. For instance, in the great child welfare movement which has accomplished so much good, we see the medical profession receiving assistance of the greatest importance from the social worker. The more deeply interested we become in health problems, the more do we see the close association that exists between the questions which we as public health officers have to solve, and those that are handled more generally by the several social agencies.

As we study more profoundly the questions affecting the health of a community, the more we see that these matters affect almost every branch of municipal work. The lighting of school buildings affects the eyesight of our children. The ventilation of buildings, either public or private, has much to do with the health of children. The cleaning of

the city's streets, the proper disposal of sewage and garbage, the ventilation of street cars and all other common carriers, the freedom of streets and public places from those things which spread disease, particularly those spread by indiscriminate expectoration, the handling of meat and food products, the maintenance and operation of cold storage plants, all bear squarely upon the questions of health. Thus we see that the laws of sanitation affect life very directly, and upon the proper observance of these laws depends the entire happiness and success of the people.

Public Health and Common Sense.

Sincerity of purpose, integrity and decent, natural living, have a great deal to do with matters of health. Anything that interferes with a child's living a wholesome, moral existence is a crime against that child and against civilization. Social work partakes so strongly of health work; is so saturated with the principles which make health work aggressive and successful, that they necessarily become linked together, with a power which today is revolutionizing community life.

Nearly all of the great agencies of social reform and advancement must be recognized also to a great degree as private agencies of public health. Such social agencies combined with those working along the lines of proper industrial development or vocational employment must be bulwarks of the great public health agencies, which have at this time robbed communicable diseases largely of their terrors, which have allowed us to more nearly live out our three score and ten, which have and are making it possible for the toiling masses to live under clearer skies with much less of sickness, expense and death. Let the public health officer remain as he is today, dominant in lines of preventive medicine, and let other powerful influences and associations group themselves about him, subordinate to him as a whole, but only for the reason that the health officer must be the pivotal agent, for he deals with the most valuable thing on earth, namely, health. We often have been asked to what extent and to what degree certain agencies must remain subordinate to the public health officer, whether sociological agencies would absorb the medical health officer, or be absorbed. We answer that simply and only because the health officer is the man who is striving primarily to save that most precious thing, life, they must be subordinated. Not because he has greater capacity; not because the agency or the units composing the different social agencies are not composed of the best intellectual fibre, but because all these things must bend to serve that man, or that power to which is given the duty of conserving health and of saving human life. It is and always will be best that in the administration of public health measures, all powers emanate from him. All facts which have been assembled, all results which have been obtained, must be at the instant command of the public health officer for the successful direction of his work.

CO-ORDINATION OF OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE ACTIVITY IN PUBLIC HEALTH WORK.

John A. Kingsbury, General Director New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

It is not so many years ago since people generally believed that disease was due to demons, and when a disease manifested itself in an individual the first thing necessary was some sort of exorcism in order to cast out the devils. It is common knowledge now that most diseases, and practically all germ diseases, are preventable. No less an authority than Pasteur said, "It is within the power of man to cause all germ diseases to disappear from the earth."

Now, a few years ago we began to hear talk about the prevention of poverty. There has existed a similar superstition that the poor we were to have with us always. But we no longer talk only about the prevention of poverty that is due to preventable disease. We now talk about the prevention of poverty resulting from widowhood. Mrs. Florence Kelley astonished the country a few years ago by talking about the prevention of widows. Undoubtedly she had in mind not only widowhood caused by death, but widows by desertion and divorce. If we could relieve the home of death and the distress due to preventable disease; if we could prevent the accidents that occur in industry; if we could increase the vitality and income of the wage-earner—we would undoubtedly prevent most of the widowhood due to those jars that finally break up a family, as well as the widowhood due to death.

The Chief Cause of Poverty Is Disease.

The chief cause of poverty which we think of as preventable, is disease, especially germ diseases—diseases dealt with by the health officer. The health inspector meets the relief visitor or the visiting nurse from the private organization in the tenements and homes of the poor throughout the country. They may perhaps meet in conflict, working in duplication. From that there develops understanding. The private society is brought into closer relation with the health department and with the health officer. The result is co-operation. Inevitably with broad-minded and intelligent men and women such meeting leads to co-operation and co-ordination. Dr. Crichton said that social and public health work are welded together. I say that, broadly speaking, social work embraces health work. Public health work is social work. Social work is the work we all are doing to improve the condition of the poor, for the elevation of the laboring classes, for the uplift of humanity.

This early conflict between private and public agencies is a fortunate conflict. It leads finally to co-operation. The health officer works alone in the beginning. He is regarded as more or less of a nuisance in many communities even today. Recently an investigation of the health conditions in the smaller communities in a rural section of New York

brought that out strongly. The health officer, especially during an epidemic, causes people no end of trouble, and they call him a nuisance. The public gives him practically nothing for his services, no appropriation for his work, no opportunity to improve the sanitary condition of the community. So we found in this investigation in New York that the business of the health officers and boards of health in rural communities was largely concerned with burying cats and dogs. We want to change that condition. The health officer must have the confidence of the community; and fortunately for the health officers and for society we are developing these private agencies that deal with public health. These agencies are taking up health work because it is demonstrated that sickness is one of the chief causes of poverty.

Now why is it fortunate for the health officer that this is so? The health officer needs, first of all, appropriations. He must have the money to pay the bills in order to do the work properly. That's one important way in which the social worker or the private agency can help the health officer and the health department. Then he needs legislation. His motives, if he goes to Olympia, lobbying, will be misunderstood, no matter how high they are. So he must have the help of disinterested people who can work for the legislation which they agree is desirable. The health officer needs to educate the community in reference to public health. He must have, as Dr. Crichton suggested, an enlightened public influence and the support of the entire community. He is often not in a position himself to develop the public sentiment so essential to his work. Here again it is fortunate for him that the social worker has "invaded" this field of public health. For the social worker has the public ear, and usually he is skilled in the art of publicity. So in experimentation, in research work, the private agency, the social worker can be of great assistance to the health officer.

Examples of Cooperation.

Just a few examples: A few years ago in New York City a study was made by the Charity Organization Society which indicated that the cases of tuberculosis—30,000 or 40,000 of them registered—were not receiving proper care. They raised the cry that the health department must have more nurses. What was the use of having the cases registered if they were not supervised and treated? As a result of that campaign the New York Health Department secured an appropriation of $300,000. That sum is now annually appropriated in New York City for that purpose, and it is almost entirely the result of effective co-operation on the part of this private agency. Through the co-operation of the State Charities Aid Association and its local committees throughout New York State, hundreds of thousands of dollars have been appropriated for hospitals, dispensaries, nurses, and for the relief of persons suffering from tuberculosis who, until lately, had no place in which they could receive proper care.

In the matter of legislation we have endless examples. Only six

years ago we had practically no legislation in the State of New York, none in New Jersey, and scarcely any in the country providing for adequate control of tuberculosis. Largely through the work of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, another private agency, we have now, in these and many other states, thoroughgoing legislation which enables us effectively to control this disease.

Let me cite a few examples in the matter of experimentation. We have a chain of floating baths in the rivers surrounding New York—the same rivers into which we dump our sewage. The Health Department several times has declared these baths dangerous to health; but they have not been able absolutely to prove a case. Hence in the course of each summer nearly two million people take a dip in this sewage! What the Health Department needed was research to establish a case, but the Board of Estimate is slow to make adequate appropriations for research work. Recently it was arranged that the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, through its Bureau of Public Health and Hygiene, should carry on a scientific examination to determine the extent of disease spread through these floating baths, and on the basis of its findings work out a scheme for new floating public baths that will not be a menace to public health. This research is now under way. When the study is completed, it is expected that the department charged with the responsibility for providing proper public baths will find little difficulty in obtaining adequate appropriations to remedy that condition.

Practical Cooperation in Research Work.

Another illustration of the way in which effective co-operation in research work between municipal and private organizations may be had is the study now being made by the Bureau of Public Health and Hygiene of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, for the purpose of determining the relationship of the house fly to diarrheal diseases of children. The Bureau has selected a section of the Bronx in the Italian quarter and has attempted to do absolutely everything possible toward the elimination of the house fly. It has screened the windows and doors, stables and outside toilets. The manure in the stables has been regularly disinfected. The people have been instructed and educated by public health nurses, aided by literature in the languages understood by the inhabitants of the section. The people in this district have been observed closely and a careful record taken of all morbidity and mortality, particularly infant diarrheal morbidity. These figures have been compared with similar ones gotten in the study of an adjacent district not protected from flies. In this work the Bureau has been very fortunate in receiving the substantial co-operation of several municipal departments. The Department of Street Cleaning has given special attention to the streets in this section, and the Bureau of Child Hygiene of the Health Department has supplied diagnoses when doubtful and has contributed one full-time nurse to aid in medical inspection. The Sanitary Division of the Health Department and the

Tenement House Department have each assigned special inspectors to the section to enforce the regulations of the Sanitary Code and of the Tenement House Law. Thus a concerted action has been brought about through the intermediary of a private organization. Thus municipal bodies prove themselves to be of valuable assistance by co-operating in research work initiated under private auspices. Although the investigation is incomplete, the results so far constitute a very strong indictment of the house fly and indicate that it is by no means an insignificant factor in the transmission of the diarrheal diseases of children when those cases occur in an unhealthy and filthy environment. So much for the private agency's part in co-operation.

Public Officials Should Reciprocate.

Now what can the health officer do for the social worker? What can a public agency do for a private agency? Very briefly, the health officer can use funds that are appropriated efficiently and honestly. He can see that certain facilities are available for the poor. He can increase beds in the hospital and sanitorium and see that the service is all that is required. He can provide more and better dispensaries and more nurses. In New York milk stations started by a private agency are now run by the health department, and the available number has increased in the last two years from five to fifty-five, and the public as well as our poor are getting a large return on the investment. The infant mortality table below shows the returns, in babies dear to the hearts of mothers and fathers, and who knows of how great value to the community? The table tells its own story as to when the city took over the private milk stations and, with its vaster resources, so greatly increased the number—but, be it remembered, after a demonstration by a private agency, the New York Milk Committee, organized by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Thus the public agency by relieving a private agency of a temporary responsibility renders a service by releasing private funds for further pioneering. These figures are furnished by the Bureau of Child Hygiene of the New York Health Department. They show the infant mortality rate (number of deaths per thousand births of infants under one year) for the last three years, for Greater New York and for each borough.

Number of Deaths Per Thousand Infants Under One Year in New York City and in Each Borough.

Year	*N. Y. C.*	*Manhattan*	*Bronx*	*B'klyn*	*Queens*	*Richmond*
1910	125	135	96	118	122	142
1911	112	124	88	101	110	121
1912	105	116	83	98	98	113

It will be noted that there has been a uniform decline in the infant mortality in the past two years, since the number of infant milk stations has increased.

As soon as experimentation is made and a case proven, all that is asked is that the public take over the activity, just as New York took over the milk stations, and the health officers can help the social worker to bring this to pass. In the matter of legislation the Health Department can co-operate and do much for the private agency by enforcing laws, requiring adequate ventilation, proper housing and light in the tenements and dwellings of the poor, by seeing to it that many of the untoward conditions which bring families to depend upon these private agencies are corrected.

In the matter of education, if the public agency will help, will co-operate, that is all that can be asked. All that the public agency asks of the private is that it co-operate. So we can double our efforts to diminish the extent of disease, to decrease poverty, to reduce the strain upon the public institutions and upon private charity. Dr. Farrand says that if we, the private societies, are doing our best, as we ought to, we are working to eliminate ourselves. With this sentiment I heartily agree. We should all stand for public ownership and control of practically everything that is being done by private charity today. The quicker we succeed in putting ourselves out of business and placing these things under state or municipal control, as you here in Washington have done by supplanting a large part of private relief by your workmen's compensation act, the better it will be for society, I am sure. The sooner we can bring about the day when social justice will take the place of charity, the sooner will we be approaching a practical, realizable millenium, and a perfect co-ordination of official and private activity along public health lines is a long step toward real public health work.

AUDITING THE BIRTH ACCOUNT: A NECESSARY PROCESS IN OUR SOCIAL BOOKKEEPING.

Lewis Meriam, Assistant Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau.

The accountant always wants to know the use of an account, what valuable purpose it is expected to serve. The social accountant, or the social statistician should always have the same thought. What is the purpose of our statistics, how is our social bookkeeping to aid in bringing about the improvements and reforms which we believe will be of so much value to our people?

We are speaking today of birth registration; the birth account. What valuable purpose is it designed to fill? What good ought it to do the community?

The birth account gives us the basis for determining the infant mortality rate; that is, the number of babies that die in the first year of life in each 1,000 babies born. No less an authority than Newsholme,

the great English statistician, tells us that the infant mortality rate is the best single index that we have of social conditions. It is the clinical thermometer of the modern health officer and sanitarian from whom we expect so much in the promotion of public health. All metals expand and contract with changes in temperature, but mercury is so much more sensitive to these changes than other metals that we put it into our thermometers. All lives are affected by adverse social conditions. At all ages of life an increased social pressure results in an increased death rate, but the little babies are extraordinarily sensitive. Their lives hang by such slender strings that the slightest increase in social pressure is reflected immediately by a sharp increase in their death rate. When we have adequate birth and death registration all over the country, the public health authorities can watch the infant mortality rate as the weather man watches his thermometer and they can pick out areas of social storm just as the weather man traces areas of ordinary storm, but with this one great difference: with our present knowledge the weather man can't change the weather, but the public health official can change the infant mortality rate, for as the expert medical men tell us, half of the present infant mortality could be prevented if the methods already known to medical and sanitary science could be given general application.

The statisticians and the sanitarians are at present busy with the statistics of infant mortality trying to discover and point out the social maladjustments which now stand in the way of this general application of our present knowledge. They are using the birth account in a sanitary and social survey which will mark out the path, step by step, for comprehensive preventive measures.

This work alone would fully justify us in devoting enormous energies to perfecting birth registration, but the birth account has other great values. It furnishes to the health officer and the visiting nurse the name and address of every baby born under adverse circumstances, so that the community can send to the family of that child a knowledge of hygiene and sanitation which will preserve the health of the infant. England now has what is known as an Immediate Notification Act which, where adopted by the local government, requires the report of a birth within thirty-six hours of its occurance; and Arthur Newsholme says that this immediate notification has been the most important single factor in producing that magnificent reduction in the infant mortality rate in England which has taken place in the last few years. The sooner society knows about the arrival of a new member the sooner society can guard that baby against the blindness of the newly born and those diseases that carry off so many babies in the first year of life and leave so many crippled, maimed, and deformed, totally unable ever to become efficient social units.

Birth registration furnishes us with a record of the babies' ages. This record becomes of immense importance to the state, enabling it to enforce its compulsory education laws, guarantying to each child an

education, and it enables the state to enforce its child labor laws, guarantying that education shall not be cut short by the greed of the parents who would sacrifice the child, or by the greed of the employers who would accept and encourage that sacrifice.

Birth registration gives to each and every one of us a record of our age and our parentage in the archives of our birth-place. This record is just as important and just as sacred as a record of marriage.

Present Condition of Birth Registration.

The legislatures of all the states of the Union, except Georgia and South Carolina, have recognized the importance of birth registration, and with these two exceptions, all the states have adopted laws designed to produce it. Public money is being expended to secure these essential vital statistics. What are we getting for our money? What is the efficiency record of the states in their attempt? What do we find in an audit of the birth account?

The United States Census of 1910 tells us how many babies under one year of age there were in each state on April 15, 1910. These babies were all born in the year ending with that date, but we know that in that same year thousands of little babies were born who did not live until the census day. If we add the number of babies alive on the census day to the number who died in the preceding year we shall have an approximation to the actual number of births, affected slightly by interstate migration and by the deficiencies of the census. The first of these is negligible for there is little interstate migration among such young babies, but the second is important and means that the figures are too favorable to the states. They tend to make the figures show a higher efficiency than the states really maintain.

In some instances we can not get accurate figures for the number of babies that died. Some of our states are so backward that they have no adequate records of deaths. In such states in order to get at the number of births we shall have to make a conservative estimate, that the deaths equal 10 per cent. of the number of living babies. The close estimate of the number of births actually occurring, we can compare this number with the number registered by states and thus determine the efficiencies of the birth registration. We can thus audit the birth account.

I have here a table which gives these figures secured by adding the population under one and the deaths under one.

Census Record of Births in Various States Compared with State Registration.

STATES	Population under 1 year of age Apr. 15, 1910	Deaths of infants under 1 yr. of age 1910[1]	Estimated No. births (Cols. 1 & 2 1910)	Births registered in 1910	Pct. of estimated No. births registered
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES	2,217,342				
NEW ENGLAND					
Maine	15,010	2,108	17,118	15,578	91.0
New Hampshire	8,325	1,373	9,698	9,385	96.8
Vermont	7,233	791	8,024	7,351	91.7
Massachusetts	70,734	11,377	82,111	86,766	105.7
Rhode Island	11,728	2,129	13,857	13,439	97.0
Connecticut	24,197	3,476	27,673	27,291	98.6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC					
New York	191,553	27,503	219,056	213,235	97.3
New Jersey	56,198	8,363	64,561	53,942	83.6
Pennsylvania	189,502	28,377	217,879	202,643	93.0
EAST NORTH CENTRAL					
Ohio	98,776	11,445	110,221	100,969	91.6
Indiana	56,098	5,996	62,094	56,309	90.7
Illinois	125,159	12,516	137,675	82,181	59.7
Michigan	62,050	7,912	69,962	63,566	90.9
Wisconsin	52,027	5,621	57,648	50,847	88.2
WEST NORTH CENTRAL					
Minnesota	46,111	4,261	50,372	43,840	87.0
Iowa	48,190	4,819	53,009	35,776	67.5
Missouri	73,929	[2]7,393	81,322	[2]	[2]
North Dakota	16,989	[3]1,699	18,688	[3]9,199	[3]49.2
South Dakota	15,518	1,552	17,070	12,555	73.6
Nebraska	28,820	2,882	31,702	24,858	78.4
Kansas	38,931	3,893	42,824	22,320	52:1
SOUTH ATLANTIC					
Delaware	4,180	418	4,598	2,373	51.6
Maryland	27,864	4,239	32,103	20,568	64.1
District of Columbia.	5,489	549	6,038	7,016	116.2
Virginia	56,168	[4]5,617	61,785	[4]	[4]
West Virginia	35,729	3,573	39,302	26,165	66.6
North Carolina	72,605	1,330	73,935	[5]	[5]
South Carolina	47,405	[6]4,741	52,146	[6]	[6]
Georgia	77,737	[6]7,774	85,511	[6]	[6]
Florida	19,972	[6]1,997	21,969	[6]	[6]
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL					
Kentucky	61,106	[7]6,111	67,217	[7]	[7]
Tennessee	62,403	6,240	68,643	51,256	74.7
Alabama	64,512	6,451	70,963	37,231	52.5
Mississippi	52,108	[8]5,211	57,319	[8]	[8]
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL					
Arkansas	47,646	[6]4,765	52,411	[6]	[6]
Louisiana	44,569	[9]4,457	49,026	[9]	[9]
Oklahoma	49,795	[5]4,980	54,775	[3]33,439	[3]61.0
Texas	112,443	11,244	123,687	52,038	42.1
MOUNTAIN					
Montana	7,902	714	8,616	[10]6,124	[10]71.1
Idaho	8,288	[11]829	9,117	[11]	[11]
Wyoming	3,165	[9]317	3,482	[9]	[9]
Colorado	17,124	1,789	18,913	12,164	64.3
New Mexico	9,889	[6]989	10,878	[6]	[6]
Arizona	5,116	[12]512	5,628	[12]3,451	[12]61.3
Utah	10,885	896	11,781	10,372	88.0
Nevada	1,360	[13]136	1,496	[13]	[13]
PACIFIC					
Washington	22,079	1,862	23,941	19,916	83.2
Oregon	12,389	1,239	13,628	9,176	67.3
California	40,336	3,720	44,056	32,138	72.9

[1]For those states which do not have adequate records of deaths, the number of babies who died in the first year of life is estimated on the very conservative basis of 10 per cent. of the population under one. Wherever such estimates have to be used the figures into which they enter are set in black type.
[2]No registration law until February 1, 1910.
[3]Inclusion or exclusion of still-births, uncertain.
[4]No registration law until June 14, 1912.

[6]No registration law at the time the table was compiled. A law has since been passed.
[7]No registration law.
[8]No registration law until January 1, 1911.
[9]No registration law until November 1, 1912.
[10]Figures not yet available.
[11]Includes still-births.
[12]No registration law until March 9, 1911.
[13]Returns for year ending June 30, 1911, rates based on a population as of January 1, 210,194.
[14]No registration law until 1911.

Let us display our good taste by first examining and criticising the efficiency record of our host, the hospitable state of Washington. In 1910 the census enumerators found in Washington 22,079 babies under one. In that year the state lost 1,862 babies before they were a year old. This would indicate that Washington had that year about 23,941 births of living children. Their birth reports showed 19,916 births registered in that year, which indicates that 4,025 babies were not registered. The efficiency rating of the state of Washington in birth registration was thus 83 per cent.; 17 per cent. of the babies went unregistered, about one in six.

Comparative Efficiency of Registration in States.

Let us compare Washington with Oregon and California. Oregon had 12,389 children under one. It has no adequate data regarding the number of babies it lost but let us assume that the number was just 10 per cent. This would give us, as the total number of births, roughly, 13,600. She registered 9,176, giving her an efficiency rating of 67 in birth registration. California had about 44,000 births and registered 32,000, giving her an efficiency rating of about 73 per cent. Washington 83, California 73, and Oregon 67 places Washington at the head of the Pacific Coast States in efficiency in birth registration though 83 is not a rate of which to be proud and not a rate which will enable Washington to use its figures in preventing the future growth of the state from developing the same conditions against which we in the east are struggling. Washington compares very favorably, however, with that old offender, Illinois. In 1910, Illinois had probably at least 137,000 births but registered only about 82,000, which would give her a rating of a little less than 60 per cent.

Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire had approximately complete registration. Certain cities are conspicuous for good registration, among them Seattle and Spokane.

I have here a map very kindly prepared for the Children's Bureau by Dr. Cressy L. Wilbur, Chief Statistician for Vital Statistics of the Federal Census Board, a man who is devoting his life to securing for this country an adequate system of vital statistics. It shows the percentage which the births registered in 1911 form of the number of babies under one year of age as reported by the census of 1910. Unfortunately a federal census of population is taken only once in ten years and we cannot always have the number of living children as a check on registration. Other methods of auditing have to be used. They generally

consist in looking up children known to have been born in the community to make sure that their births have been registered.

It should be the practice of every registrar to look up each death of a young child, provided the child was born in his district, to make sure that the birth was registered. The Children's Bureau is about to enter into a co-operative movement with the women's organizations throughout the country in which committees of women in selected towns and districts will get the names of, say, ten babies each, go to the registration office, see if they are recorded and report the results to the Children's Bureau. This will involve comparatively little work for the women, and will put the Children's Bureau in possession of valuable data on registration. We hesitate, especially in the suffrage states, to guarantee the peace and comfort of the person responsible if any organized body of women find that a considerable number of babies are not getting what the law has endeavored to guarantee them!

Model Law for Uniform Enactment.

It must be remembered, however, that the registration officials are not always to blame for the defective results, as in several of the states the machinery provided by the registration law is poorly adapted to its purposes. A committee of the Council of Health and Public Instruction of the American Medical Association has given this matter much study in the past ten years and has drafted a model state law for the registration of births and deaths. In this work it has had the hearty co-operation of the American Public Health Association, the American Bar Association, the Committee on Vital and Penal Statistics of the Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, and of the Bureau of the Census and the Children's Bureau. Certain provisions of this law are so fundamental that it is extremely doubtful whether a state law not containing them can be a real success.

This model law creates an office of a state registrar of vital statistics, under the State Board of Health, and upon this officer it places squarely the responsibility of securing registration of all births and deaths. His efficiency can be measured by the single index of the completeness of the registration. He has one way of making good—getting complete registration. The law provides him with adequate machinery for success. It divides the state into small primary registration districts. Each city, each incorporated town and each township constitutes a separate registration district, and when these are too large to be covered conveniently by the local registrar, the local registrars may nominate sub-registrars who are appointed by the State Board. All these men are directly answerable to the State Board of Health; they are appointed by the State Board, and they may be removed by it. The duty of their office is to register all births and deaths. They are responsible for their districts and they report directly to the state registrar who is responsible for the state as a whole.

The compensation of these local registrars is on the piece price

basis, twenty-five cents for each birth or death certificate issued; and in case no birth or death occurs in the given month, twenty-five cents for a report of that fact. Being a local registrar is thus no get-rich-quick scheme. It is not expected that a man will devote all his time to it except in the largest cities. But the compensation is sufficient to make the registrar want to register every birth and death that occurs.

The responsibility of reporting births to the registrar is placed upon the doctors and the midwives or other persons in attendance at the birth. The law provides that they may be prosecuted for failing to perform this duty which they so obviously owe to the community which licenses them to practice. The registrar should not hesitate to prosecute all failures to report births and deaths, and the community should support him in these prosecutions. Every mother, moreover, should specifically ask the person in attendance upon her at childbirth whether the baby has been properly registered. The birth is just as sacred as the marriage, and the reasons for recording the marriage are, if anything, of lesser importance than the reasons for recording the birth. The community must therefore demand that persons who are in attendance at births shall make reports and if they fail to do so they must demand that they be prosecuted.

This machinery of the model law is, I believe, free from the defects which are at the present time preventing some of our well-meaning states from securing registration and it is working very promisingly wherever it has been tried.

County an Ineffectual Unit of Registration.

Perhaps the worst defect in other laws occurs when the attempt is made to register births through the machinery of the county government. A county is too large an area to be covered by a single registration official. A busy doctor cannot be expected to drive way over to the county seat every time a baby is born, nor can a registration officer chase all over the county every time he hears of a birth to make the doctor register it. Even if he could do so he would not hear of all the births. The small registration areas into which the model law divides the state, bring the doctor and the registration official into the same community, put them on the same telephone exchange, and place them within the same sphere of local news. Local news must be harnessed to make it an effective force for registration. In rural communities the registration area must be small enough to enable the local registrar to learn of practically every birth without serious effort on his part. Then he can make the doctor register it. Doubtless the existence of the New England town and its use as the registration district is largely responsible for the comparative efficiency of New England birth registration.

Since the county is too large an area for an efficient local or primary registration unit, it should be entirely ignored in providing the machinery for registration of births, though the statistics after col-

lection may be compiled by counties. Too frequently the county's officials are made a step between the local registrar and the state registrar. Here they serve no genuinely useful purpose and they prevent the effective supervision of the whole work by the state official who is responsible for the efficiency of the entire system. In the model system if the state registrar finds that births are not being registered in a given local area he can hold the local registrar of that area directly responsible and can remove him if necessary. In the county system, on the other hand, if returns from the local area are defective, the state officer has to appeal to the county official, too frequently an already overburdened county clerk, who may, or may not, be interested in birth registration and who may or may not bring the registration of the district up to the mark.

With the county system frequently goes the defect of making the registration of births a part of the job of a salaried employee, who may have to do in addition a hundred and one other little things. Instead of his ability being measured by the single standard of registering births and deaths it may be measured by many different standards. A defective administration of the registration laws may be excused because of proficiency in other things. Registration in such a system has everything to lose and nothing to gain, and it generally loses.

The superiority of the model law to the laws in force in so many of our states is not all that it has to commend it to us. It offers the way for uniformity among the states in the collection of vital statistics. Statistics collected under this law and tabulated by the United States Census Bureau will give us what we can secure in no other way; and it will place us on an equal plane with the other civilized nations of the world in the collection of vital statistics. The people of this country are becoming strong in their faith in the possibilities of far-reaching social betterment through organized effort in preventive work. If these possibilities are to be realized we must build us a solid foundation of fact and no facts are more important than those we can secure through vital statistics. We must therefore be critical of our registration. We must see that we have a good law and we must be constantly on the alert to see that the law is well enforced. We have got to demand that the county registration office be abolished and that a state registrar be put on the job with adequate power to enable him to get results.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. C. F. Davidson, Seattle.

Mr. Meriam has well said that just as meteorological conditions are foretold by the weather bureau so might infant morbidity and mortality be prognosticated if we had deemed it of as much importance to chronicle facts relating to child welfare as we have facts relating to weather.

We are all aware of the need of complete registration of births and

deaths of infants. The more one studies matters relating to infant welfare the more one is impressed with its absolute necessity. Infant morbidity and mortality forms a most sensitive barometer—not exactly of social conditions as they affect finance, but as they affect the care of infants. You all know the remarkable fact that in England infant mortality decreased when, for want of raw material, the cotton mills were shut down during our civil war. Why? Because the income of the family was decreased? No, indeed; but rather because the conditions favored a more adequate care of infants on account of the lack of outside work for mothers. We all know how a change of temperature that makes the poor feel the need of ice, sends infant morbidity and mortality rates soaring. We here in Seattle can immediately see a change in morbidity rates with the least cessation in our splendid guard over our milk supply.

The burden of Mr. Meriam's paper has been birth registration. Lack of time only, I am sure, prevented him from pleading as strongly for death certificates. Our infant account has a debit side as well as a credit side. Birth registration is our credit account. Infant death registration is our debit account.

Every child of robust body and keen intelligence that is brought into a city, state, or nation, is an asset, an item of credit, produced at a cost—who can or who would dare to name in dollars and cents. Every infant that leaves the domain otherwise than by growth into a sturdy, well-developed youth is a waste worse than profligacy. It is imperative that we know where, when, and how our babies go as well as when they came. If they do not reach the earliest years of childhood it is imperative that we know why they do not survive. Statistics justify Mr. Meriam in saying, "Where we have no accurate record of the number of babies who die in the first year of life we can safely assume that they formed at least ten per cent. of the number of babies under one year found by the census."

To digress one minute, permit me to give you our figures for the first six months of 1913 for the city of Seattle. Births, 2061; deaths, 161. Less than the average deaths by 45. You see we are saving 25 per cent. more babies than the average community.

That the records of these children averaging one in every ten born should show why they were not permitted to live—that we may have complete sociological data, as well as medical data, on our infant accounts is the demand that is coming from the health officers who would reduce infant mortality by furnishing nurses and prophylactic dispensaries that those children born under adverse conditions may have brought to their homes such knowledge of hygiene and sanitation as will better enable them to survive the vicissitudes of these days so dangerous to human life.

Are Babies Worth Less Than Products of the Field?

It seems unnecessary and trite to refer again to the comparison between the care afforded our infants and our industrial products, but

each new aspect may aid in bringing about a realization sufficiently keen to result in aggressive action in favor of the infants. Suppose some pest should invade our orchards and year after year kill one in every ten trees that are planted. How long before our state horticulturist, or our national government, would be appealed to to correct the trouble, and justly so. Suppose that throughout the corn belt some insect should year after year invade every field and kill every tenth acre of corn after it has been cultivated and cared for until it is in full tassel and the grains were forming on the ears. Suppose some fell influence should invade our mines throughout our domains and render worthless one-tenth of the product after it had been hoisted to the surface or delivered to the smelter. Would a nation stand idly by? Not for a minute. Every resource would be invoked to prevent that loss. Aren't babies worth more than fruit trees, or grain, or ore? Why is it then that years after we have been having records of all these products we know so little about babies?

Our Agricultural Department can give you almost any kind of data on any crop you desire. Take corn, as an example. You can learn the number of acres planted, the average yield per acre, for any state, and the total yield in bushels for the whole United States. Are infants harder to count than bushels of corn or bales of cotton? Perhaps not, but these latter have a direct market value and in so far have an advantage over infants. With our industrial life constituted as it is today it is desirable because advantageous to know these facts about products of the field, forest, mine and sea. The facts are collected, the expense of the collection is disregarded.

Whether the model law Mr. Meriam mentions will work out satisfactorily I cannot say. Of one thing, however, I am convinced. That twenty-five cent compensation per piece will not solve the question. Though it may help I fear it will not bring in a single certificate.

If the nation could be made to realize that there is no wealth comparable with human life; if our public health service could be given a position commensurate with its importance; if public health officials could be removed from the pernicious influence of politics, we would undoubtedly have a representative in the president's cabinet. With such conditions prevalent the numerous health services would cease struggling along in an unorganized way. Matters of the utmost importance to infants, to the community, and to the nation, would no longer be delegated to subordinates in bureaus, but would be given the consideration they deserve. Such recognition as would be manifested by the creation of a National Department of Health and Sanitation will place this matter of registration of births and deaths on a rational basis. Placing the national health service on such a basis would go far toward engendering in the public a just appreciation of the subject and would enable us to attain results that are today even beyond our fondest hopes.

Public Supervision and Administration

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.*

William T. Cross, Chairman; Secretary State Board of Charities and Corrections, Columbia, Missouri.

The importance of recent developments in the field of public supervision and administration of welfare work is apparent to every one who is deeply concerned with the subject. This report is intended to present a summary of facts historically, and at least a tentative interpretation of the main forces in the existing situation. It is our hope that from this extensive analysis suggestions may be gotten for intensive studies of more limited fields by future committees.

Our report follows forty years of Conference discussion upon this topic. We cannot easily overestimate the significance of the many reports and debates devoted to it. It is unfortunate that more are not compelled by circumstances to review this interesting history. The militant strength of the supervisory board movement began to be reflected in this Conference in the reports of Giles and Sanborn in 1886 and 1887, and in 1891 Follett of Ohio exclaimed: "Some of us may live to see—in God's good time—a United States Board of Charities." And coincident with the spread of the idea occurred many famous debates, like those of '90 and '95, for a great movement was taking place which was fully as significant as the development of the charity organization society, the social settlement or the industrial reformatory. And this history is

*This committee, as may be seen by reference to the official organization of the 1913 Conference, consists of practical authorities in the field discussed by the report in fourteen important states. The report represents the specific agreement of the seventeen members, ample time having been allowed for consideration. The wide variety in public organization in this field is well known. Such unanimous agreement on the part of those familiar with so many different state systems in making the accompanying analysis is accepted as an omen of progress.—Chairman.

important, too, because it brought forth such champions as Brinkerhoff, Sanborn, Wines, Elmore, Giles and a dozen others.

Recent Tendencies.

But the movement for the organization of state supervisory and administrative boards has been centered in a series of parallel and sometimes conflicting tendencies and influences which are frequently ignored by those interested in the subject. Our forms and ideas of government, national, state and local, have undergone great development. Our economic structure has almost completely changed, and the extent and grouping of our population is entirely different from what it was when the first board of charities was formed a half-century ago. And there are traceable many minor influences upon the technical work of public supervision and administration, such as that of methods in case work of charity organization societies. Besides, our ideas about the very field of supervision and administration are changing. What is to be supervised and administered? It can no longer be answered simply, "charities and corrections" unless that term is made to comprehend the broad field of social reconstruction. There have been significant changes in both aim and methods in this field, and no constructive statement about public supervision and administration can be valid which does not take into account these facts.

The excellent description and summary presented by Professor Frank A. Fetter as chairman of this committee in 1909 form a landmark in the treatment of this subject, and in general the conclusions reached at that time are reaffirmed by the present committee. One of the chief effects of that report is to emphasize the great variety of functions of various state supervisory and administrative boards. The movement which has resulted in the organization of these boards has been characterized by (1) the establishment of the principle of central public supervision of charitable and correctional work, and (2) a great increase of attention to many questions relating to efficiency of the charitable and correctional system. Our primary interest in this subject, however, is not historical.

The continuation of this committee is a recognition of the fact that there are large, unsolved problems ahead to which methods of public supervision and administration must be adapted and the further fact that new communities and commonwealths are looking to us for advice. The questions this committee faces are dynamic and progressive.

A Question of Effective Government.

The public supervision and administration of charitable and correctional work is pre-eminently a matter of government. To be sure, the fact cannot be overlooked that especially in this field the aim of the governmental device is to secure social welfare. But in order to gain our ultimate end, which is the effective treatment of the problems of defectiveness, pauperism and crime, and other forms of social maladjustment, it is necessary for us to determine what is the most efficient form of governmental organization. As we get away from the field of sympathetic personal service the question becomes more one of wise government and less one of sentiment and philanthropy. And yet on the side of efficiency in methods of public supervision and administration the testimony of all classes of social workers should be heard,—the physicians, the penologists, business experts, even the politicians, and others. This being, then, chiefly a question of effective government we recognize as its two most important phases (1) efficiency in operation and (2) the fullest possible participation of the people. On the one hand we should work out in a more methodical and complete way the criteria of efficiency in the various parts of the system of charity and correction, and on the other we should demonstrate the fact that social control is a thoroughly democratic undertaking. With the recent extension of the functions of government in the field of social welfare some of the greatest questions of the day come within the purview of this committee.

I.

Relation of Supervisory and Administrative Boards to Social Problems.

There is presented herewith a diagram indicating the various major fields in which standing committees have been

appointed from the beginning of the National Conference in 1874 (omitted in publication). While this is only a rough classification it shows in a fairly dependable way that committees have been appointed to study chiefly poor relief and medical charities, the insane and mental defectives, the care of criminals, dependent and neglected children, problems of supervision and administration, the organization of private outdoor relief, and certain general social problems. The diagram reveals many interesting facts about the continuity of study in these different fields. For example, there is an apparent recent tendency to treat large social problems as well as the technical methods of charitable administration. In the more restricted field under this committee several valuable discussions occur upon statistics and legislation, but the greater amount of attention has been given to the development of the principles and incidents of state supervision and later of central administration of state institutions. It is significant that most of the discussion in this field has had to do with state supervision and administration, for until the last decade or two the state has been the unit of government to which popular attention has been chiefly devoted. But with the recent growth of cities and development of social problems of cities it is safe to prophesy the ascendancy in our discussions of questions relating to municipal supervision and administration.

There have been a few statements about municipal charities and corrections, and of these the report of Mr. Folks in 1898 is by far the most extensive and important. The lack of attention to this division of the subject is not surprising when it is remembered that most of the textbooks on municipal government have appeared within the last ten years. As to county supervision and administration very little helpful discussion occurs. A few interesting experiments in practical administration have been made, as in the organization of county boards of visitors, and the improvement of township outdoor relief. But the county is a loose administrative area rather than a homogeneous unit as is the city, and there is need of discussion of forms of supervision and administration especially adapted to it. Finally, there has been an oc-

casional reference to federal supervision of charities and corrections. The most extensive of these is Professor Folwell's plea in 1901 for a national clearing house in this field. This subject is worthy of much fuller treatment because of the growing tendency toward centralization in our government. Much of the backwardness and many of the occasional relapses of state administration of charities and corrections could be prevented by a well organized national bureau. It is evident, then, that for all the important units of government there remain many vital unsolved problems of supervision and administration.

Not only has public supervision and administration in the past meant chiefly state supervision and administration, but the discussion has revolved about certain well known classes of public institutions. But we may well ask, are there not other problems of charity and correction which need public control and supervision? The following-named questions, for example, while not being unknown in our discussions, are not often treated from the standpoint of public supervision and administration: the support of anti-tuberculosis work, including educational propaganda; state or city supervision of general hospitals; hospital social service and after-care work, as well as public responsibility for the inmates of all classes of institutions after their discharge; central supervision of juvenile court work,—a virgin field in most states. The question of central control of local jails calls loudly for solution. The matter of public outdoor relief, which some thought had been forcibly ejected over a decade ago, seems to be still open for discussion. And, finally, there are many police functions relating to housing, the supervision of morality, the prevention and control of vice, etc., which have appeared first as city problems, and which hereafter will certainly be discussed with propriety in connection with the supervision and administration of charitable and correctional work.

Old Problems Have Changed.

Moreover, if we take any single problem of supervision and administration that has been discussed customarily in this section, it is questionable whether or not our former con-

clusions are still satisfactory. Our ideas of the function of the public authority in respect to these problems have undergone many changes, one of which is shown in the present attitude that the state should plan to care for the dependent, defective and delinquent classes in a comprehensive way. If the state is to assume the control of the entire burden of feeblemindedness, for example, can we define our ideals in terms of a certain number of institutions of given capacity, of certain schemes of popular education, etc., ending with a practical budget which we may reasonably expect the state to invest? For this and any other of the special problems, what is the present division of investment and effort between public and private agencies, between local and general areas, and between preventive and remedial work? What would the ideal division be? If most states should change their method of control of the crime problem from local to state auspices, for example, they could with the expenditure of little additional money accomplish much more in the way of reform. In this day of bond issues communities are beginning to look the matter of complete care of these problems squarely in the face.

So it is apparent that the proportions and nature of many very old problems of public supervision and administration are changing. We are surrounded with an unsettled outlook. It is probable that present forms of supervisory and administrative boards do not represent an ultimate development. The report of this committee in 1909 shows a surprising variety in the organization of state boards, and every passing legislature imposes new duties and functions. And supervision and administration in cities is clearly in the experimental state.

Important Unsolved Problems.

One of the best indications of the present developmental condition of public supervisory and administrative work is the existence of many unsolved problems in this field. Among these are the following:

1. The problem of standardizing types and methods of treatment of dependency, defectiveness and delinquency. The wide variety in treatment of similar cases under different jurisdictions is well known. These differences should be ironed out,

and we should use the results of recent research in giving new definitions to these types.

2. The problem of maintaining ideal relationships between public and private charities. One of the most recent practical movements in this direction has been the requirement that certain charitable organizations be licensed by the state boards of charity. The growth of this quasi-public idea regarding private charities is shown further in the work of charities endorsement. The number of public institutions in the country slightly exceeds that of private institutions, and the volume of work they do is probably considerably in excess. But the facts and statistics should be worked out more accurately than is possible at the present time, and the principles of proper relationships between the two should be stated more specifically than has yet been done. We have scarcely begun to reap the advantages that are to be gained from effective reciprocal relationships between public and private charities.

3. The problem, already mentioned, of guarantying adequate, comprehensive treatment of pauperism, defectiveness and crime. This requires as much correlation of existing agencies as it does an increase of expenditures. It must be solved if the program of eugenics and social control is to succeed.

4. The problem of furnishing a maximum of normal life and training to inmates of institutions,—of de-institutionalizing the institution. A visitor from Mars would probably put down the "inmate" as a new species of *genus homo.*

5. The problem of adopting more direct and effective means of prevention. Several expedients have already been tried. One of the most significant has been the extension of the police power through the operation of public boards of supervision and administration. The Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, Missouri, for example, not only administers the public charitable and correctional institutions, but in a limited way it supervises the activities of people at large so as to prevent the increase of the classes needing special care.

6. Many technical problems relating to the operation of institutions, ranging from the question of uniformity of nomenclature in the diagnosis of insanity to that of the best

type of boiler plant for an institution of a given size; matters of organization and management, of employment, of architecture and arrangement, of financial support, of up-to-date accountancy, statistics and publicity, of dietetics and sanitation, and of recreation and occupation of inmates. Scarcely any of these questions has been thoroughly worked out, and yet after the long experience of this and other countries in the conduct of various types of institutions we should be proceeding with greater precision and efficiency. And on account of the general public interest in these institutions these are matters to be studied chiefly by the central supervisory and administrative authority.

II.

Organization and Maintenance of State and City Supervisory and Administrative Boards.

It has been pointed out that the two main purposes to be subserved by a public supervisory or administrative organization are efficiency in operation and participation of the people. The following propositions are intended to indicate important principles according to which these two ends are to be attained:

A. As to efficiency.

1. There is an undeniable advantage in a certain degree of technical unity among charitable and correctional institutions—the "big business" idea in this field.

2. The public supervisory or administrative authority should be so organized as to secure the most effective relationships with other branches and agencies of government,—the courts, the public schools, the financial or auditing department, research departments of universities, the legislature, etc. For example, in passing on appropriations to institutions legislative authority must be largely delegated respecting arrangement of items and amounts. What is the most advantageous form of supervisory or administrative organization for this purpose?

3. There are many questions relating to technical and social efficiency of public institutions which unfortunately are too often ignored in annual and biennial reports. It should be demonstrated to the public constantly just wherein their investment is paying. The public supervisory or administrative

authority should be such as to get at these matters of practical efficiency.

4. The simplest form of state or city government would provide for direct control over the system of public charities and corrections by the chief executive. Yet there are difficulties on the other side of the question the chief of which is danger of partisan political control. Hence means have been devised to interfere with directness of control by the chief executive, such as the plan of civil service. Ordinarily the will of the people respecting the operation of their institutions cannot be registered at the polls, for governors and mayors are elected on other issues. But until a scheme can be devised for the expression of the popular will in these matters, or unless established custom is strong enough to prevent political abuses, measures interfering with direct control by the chief executive are justifiable.

5. The central authority should maintain an organic relationship to the work supervised or controlled. Amateurishness and misunderstanding on the part of public boards have been fruitful of much waste.

B. As to participation of the people.

1. Frequently as it is used, the word "supervision" is given the greatest variety of meanings by workers in this field. One of the most important elements of supervision in aiding participation of the people in charitable and correctional work is that inspections shall be made and reported and facts and statistics published in such a way as to cultivate popular criticism.

2. It is desirable that, whatever the form of the central supervisory or administrative authority may be, it shall be a developer of public opinion. There are so many obvious needs in this field in most states that it is not necessary for central boards to advocate doubtful measures of reform. Anticipation of new needs and popularization of methods of meeting them is a function of the established administrative or supervisory organization. Officials in this field should be leaders of public thought, not followers. Illustrations are too numerous to require mentioning. Bulletins, press articles, state conferences

of charities and correction, officers' conferences, public addresses, and many other effective means ought to be used.

3. In order to increase the amount of popular participation in charitable and correctional work through personal service and experience, effort should be made by the authorities of both public and private institutions and agencies to interest as large a number of men and women as possible in carrying on their work.

4. It is difficult to maintain a purely supervisory or criticizing body, for it must be supported from the public treasury. Legislatures are ordinarily reluctant to appropriate much money for such "overhead fixtures." Honest criticism will always stir up opposition. Yet this does not obviate "the continuing need for an independent citizen agency" in this field. So it is in many instances desirable that in addition to their advisory functions public boards of supervision take on general administrative functions, as in the case of child saving work, the adjustment of pauper settlement disputes, etc.

The question of specific forms of supervision and administration in cities is to be treated in a special report for this committee by Mr. Howe. There are fundamental differences between the city and the state as units of government. City governments have more immediate relationships to the people governed, and therefore boards can be created having more direct control over the individual. This fact is recognized in the board of public welfare movement. Early forms of city government followed those of state government closely, but there has been a change in this regard, and there is no necessity for cities to copy the state forms of supervisory and administrative boards. At present there are many diverse tendencies in city government, in which the end sought is efficiency. The scheme of public supervision and administration of charities and corrections should harmonize with principles of city government now being worked out.

There is need of considerable research as to public supervision and administration in counties. That there are many difficulties in the use of present methods is evident from our unsuccessful treatment of misdemeanants and loose methods of poor relief in counties. Although heretofore the county has

tended to follow the state in form of charitable and correctional organization, it has been suggested that it try the municipal scheme, for example, by creating a county board of public welfare.

III.

Conclusions.

We should examine carefully the basis of organization of our institutions of charity and correction. All boards of supervision and administration represent a delegation of executive authority, as the simplest form would be the governor or mayor and the public institution only under its superintendent. It is plain that the public interest in the maintenance of public systems of charity and correction is a unit, and undivided. We should get a new vision of unity in this work. We have long known of the actual interrelatedness of the special social classes, and there is beginning to occur in the law a recognition of this complex basis of social disease. There is a compelling need, therefore, of co-ordination of forces for the work of eugencis and social control.

Not only is unity needed, but there must be more comprehensive, scientific analysis of our problems. We should know what is needed to be done, and should study the direction and effectiveness of public efforts. Lack of social determination and persistency, and of well-adapted governmental expedients, rather than want of money, is delaying the adequate public treatment of social problems. It is particularly the function—and opportunity—of the public supervisory and administrative officials to consider these facts.

There is a demand for forms of government which secure both efficiency in matters of technical administration and the fullest possible participation of the people. For various reasons public institutions and agencies do not ordinarily use the most effective and least wasteful methods. On the other hand, the people not only do not co-operate with their officials in the work of public institutions, but they usually are entirely ignorant of the subject.

Communities Should be Awakened.

We need to shift the campaign largely to the development

of community consciousness in the treatment of social problems. Our institutions now have only the most formal and ill-adjusted relationships to the communities whose problems they are founded to combat. Yet true social correction is expressed in only a low form by the erection of an institution and segregation therein of paupers, defectives or criminals. We must face the fundamental question of community morality.

Better training and greater group coherence of officials and employees in this field are needed. There are probably between 100,000 and 150,000 men and women connected with the operation of public and private institutions in the United States, and high standards of efficiency should be defined and set for them.

This report, being based on experience and observation, is intended to furnish material both for practical administration and for further discussion in this Conference. We should be careful that the lines of debate be drawn on constructive issues.

A word to the West: The state faces grave responsibilities in respect to the weaker classes. Statistics of their extent among the population are well known. New states and communities should equip themselves properly to attack these problems, and should make their plans on the basis of complete control. Had the states of the East followed this method during the last fifty years their burdens would be only a fraction as great as they are now. By wise organization many of the economic and social problems which accompany large populations may be avoided. The planning of cities, housing and sanitary laws, regulations respecting education and labor, the establishment of playgrounds and systems of medical inspection, as well as the supervision and administration of institutions of charity and correction, constitute scientific tasks, and there should be properly organized public bureaus to attend to them.

PUBLIC CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS IN WASHINGTON.

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The state of Washington has not been sufficiently fortunate to escape its share of responsibility for the care of those classes of hu-

manity, which, scattered throughout our country and the entire civilized world, are arresting the wheels of social, industrial, mental, moral and physical progress and are entailing a heavy burden upon our already overburdened tax payers. The dependent, defective and delinquent are with us, as they are with you, and will be with us, as they will be with you, for many years to come. Under the title, charities and corrections, we have been discussing their problems for forty years, and under the same title, we shall probably continue to discuss them for more than forty years to come. It is my privilege, this evening, to present, as well as I am able, the system of charities and corrections under which our state is attempting to solve present problems, and to discuss the preparation which it is making for the solution of such other problems as the future may bring forth.

System of Charities and Corrections.

The public charities and corrections of Washington include all those state, county and municipal institutions which care for mental, moral and physical defectives. There is no public system of outdoor relief, other than that established by the Mother's Pension Act, and the system of financial aid under the supervision of the county charity commissioners. Our city charity organizations and our semi-public institutions are practically private philanthropies.

State, or centralized control, as defined in the committee report, is limited to one class of public institutions—state institutions.

County institutions are controlled and supervised, theoretically at least, by the county commissioners. It has been my observation, however, that most of the investigating and recommending has been delegated to the grand jury.

On June twenty-second, the latest findings of our grand jury, relative to county affairs, were published. A few of the recommendations will suffice to indicate its methods, the character of its work, and its standards for testing efficiency. No corruption was found, not even the traces of graft, but there was a tendency to "log rolling." Public institutions, in the main, were found to be satisfactorily conducted—a few criticisms and suggestions for improvement were made. Certain charges, which the grand jury had neither time nor inclination to investigate, were referred to the prosecuting attorney's office. The investigation ended by insisting that one of the three commissioners resign, or be recalled, and by inviting a second, the chairman, to resign, not because of any personal disqualifications, but because as the minority member of the board he was opposing his colleagues and hindering team work. Team work is most desirable, and the machinery of government will always run more smoothly if board members are of one accord, but the value of the minority member is too apparent to allow such a basis for resignation to receive public endorsement.

What is the influence of such a report upon the public and upon public institutions? Very little, if any, upon either. Possibly officials

who are grafting, practicing corruption and playing politics, can graft and corrupt and play politics just a little more securely for the next eleven months, unless an election intervenes. So far as the general public is concerned, the report is not even read. To be sure, it is printed in full in all the daily papers, but it is not printed until after glaring headlines and clever editorial interpretation have so blinded the eyes and muddled the intelligence of our gullible public that few ever reach the text of the report, or use their own intelligence to interpret it according to its real meaning. Each reader depends upon the editorial interpretation offered by his, or her, favorite newspaper. As each newspaper interprets such reports in the manner best calculated to boost its own game, political or other, the press is usually satisfied.

With just twenty-four hours in which to digest the report of the grand jury on county affairs, on June 23rd, after six weeks of strenuous work, the report of the efficiency committee of the city council gave us an example of the class of supervision exercised over municipal institutions. Responsibility for city institutions is shifted about from the shoulders of the mayor, chief of police, park department, health department and grand jury, to the shoulders of the city council, and vice versa. In neither county nor municipality is there any organized system of scientific administration, inspection or investigation. There are no definite standards of efficiency, no fixed responsibility for present conditions and no intelligent plan for future progress.

Were Washington the only state which I had ever called my home, were it the only state in which I had studied social problems, and were I speaking to a general audience, rather than to one composed of social workers, I might be inclined, in the presence of the representatives of so many other states, to omit this severe censure of our county and municipal system, but I know that your state is no better than mine, your public conscience no less guilty than is ours, and your responsibility for a change in methods no less great than is ours. The public is responsible for its system of charities and corrections, but so accustomed have we become to this condition of affairs that we do not realize what we are tolerating. The jail system of our entire country is a disgrace to American civilization, but we shall not improve this system until we realize our disgrace; not until we make an individual effort, state by state, and a united effort as a nation.

Inasmuch as the subject of public charities and corrections, in its various phases, is too comprehensive for the time allotment, and inasmuch as two section meetings have been set aside for municipal charities and welfare boards I shall confine myself, except for incidental mention, to the presentation of our system of charities and corrections in vogue in state institutions, and to the advantages which would accrue, both to the public and to the beneficiaries, were we to extend our system of centralized control to include county and municipality, and to include centralized and efficient supervision as well as centralized administration.

Administration of State Institutions.

Washington cares for its wards in eleven state institutions—three hospitals for the insane, two soldiers' homes, a school each for the deaf and blind, a state training school for both sexes, an institution for feeble-minded, a reformatory for men, and a penitentiary for both sexes. The last legislature passed a bill appropriating $125,000 for the segregation of the sexes in the state training school and we hope soon to add, as our twelfth institution, a thoroughly modern state school for girls.

Administration of these institutions is vested in the State Board of Control, appointed by the governor, subject to confirmation by the senate. Remuneration is $3,000 per annum. The law imposes no qualifications, professional or otherwise, and the governor is absolutely unhampered in his choice, except for the requirement that not more than two members shall be of the same political faith. It is not necessary to explain that this law was placed upon our statute books, as it was upon those of many other states, in the days when party transfers were less easily secured and less freely utilized; in the days when party platforms ignored social issues; in the days when public office followed political support just as surely and just as logically as night followed day. The platforms of two of our political parties, reinforced by President Wilson's inaugural address, are sufficient proof that the day has already dawned when executives will be judged by one standard only—by the account rendered the public in the interests of humanity.

It is true that our committee report reiterates the old warning regarding partisan political control and the danger of executive political abuse, but it seems to me we have less to fear from executive *political* abuse than we have from executive *professional* ignorance. No man is as interested in the success of his own administration as is the executive, and were he not interested in the social welfare of the state, per se, diplomacy has played too large a part in the training of most of our executives for them to so far lose their cunning as to sacrifice these most modern of all political problems to partisan political control. On the other hand, few of our executives are students of social problems, and hence they do not realize that the functions of the board of control are specialized and varied, and that modern scientific progress is making them more so. There is, undoubtedly, too much of a tendency to select untrained men for these positions, and to change the membership so often that the state loses the benefit of accumulated experience. What our charities and corrections need is not non-partisan, nor bi-partisan, nor even tri-partisan control; not democratic, nor republican, nor progressive control, nor any combination of the three, but efficient, trained, scientific control. *This* guaranteed, none need question the basis of appointment, let it be political if it will.

In addition to the supervision exercised by the board of control, it has become our custom, at each session of the legislature, to provide for the investigation of at least one institution. Such investigations are

usually political in origin; instigated by those who are long on suspicion and short on facts, or by discharged employees; conducted by men who have neither knowledge of, nor experience in, institutional affairs and would not recognize efficiency if they should find it. Investigations of this kind do not have the confidence of thoughtful people, they serve no useful purpose, are an expensive luxury for the tax payer, and are often exceedingly detrimental to the institution under fire. There is a way to investigate, and a way *not* to investigate. Legislative investigation is unquestionably one of the ways *not* to investigate and we may unhesitatingly condemn it as a method without place in modern philanthropy. The sooner our state, and your state, find a more intelligent substitute the better.

Mechanism of Administration.

This, in a general way, outlines the public machinery which has been established for the control and supervision of state, county and municipal charities and corrections. Let us now turn to the mechanism of administration and consider the effectiveness of the machinery and the results of its operation.

It is obvious that any system of charities and corrections which is in harmony with modern progress should have a two-fold purpose; for its immediate aim, the relief of present distress and the protection of present society at the least cost consistent with efficiency; for its ultimate aim, the elimination of the defective, dependent and delinquent. In order to accomplish these objects, our institutions must be so administered as to promote the welfare and happiness of our public wards, and they must be so studied that whatever of crime, insanity and disease may be found to be preventable may be removed. Their functions must not only be custodial, but also remedial and constructive. Methods of administration must be not only technically efficient, but also socially efficient.

Custodial Function.

The efficient and economical management of public institutions is an important matter, but there is great danger that the saving of nickels and dimes be regarded as the cardinal virtue of management. In many instances, the business and professional management may be considered as two distinct functions; in others they overlap to such an extent that no dividing line is possible. The *outside management* of the institutions includes such items as handling the maintenance, building and amusement funds, awarding contracts, establishing a uniform system of accounting, and caring for the physical plant. These are some of the strictly business demands made upon the Board of Control. One of the most important items of *inside management*, one which combines both business and professional knowledge, is food consumption. Contracting for, purchasing, checking, testing and storing supplies are business

problems. Study of the nutritive value of foods, in order to select for the various types of institutions the kinds and proportions best adapted to their needs, and at the same time the most economical for the state, is largely a professional problem and, in a well regulated system, should not longer be a matter of experimentation. It is a problem which should be settled by the Board of Control and not left to the varying judgment of superintendents.

Prior to making a study of institutional life in Washington and Oregon, I made every effort to provide myself with data and means for judging the nutritive value and character of the diet of our institutions, compared with accepted dietary standards. More than that, after visiting the institutions, watching the preparation of food, noting the quality, quantity and waste, and the methods of cooking and serving, copies of all menus, together with the personal observations made, were sent to one of our federal experts for his judgment and advice. Final conclusions on this phase of our administrative system were—that food consumption is *not* a matter of professional study in Washington, but, with the exception of two institutions, we are maintaining a standard which conforms remarkably well with that approved by expert dietitians. In one of our institutions the menu did not meet accepted standards; in another it was more expensive for the state than was necessary in order to obtain equally good results.

No effort was made to study the purely business side of such institutional problems unless it affected the well being of the inmates. However, familiarity with the reports on methods of fiscal control published by experts for other states, knowledge that 90 per cent. of the butter fell below contract specifications in my old home state, that much of the meat fell below specifications in several, but only ten out of twenty-eight samples of food supplies proved satisfactory under chemical analysis in another, led me to question if our state might not have some weak points in this respect as well as other states.

So far as the physical plant is concerned, I found no fire escapes, no fire alarm, and no fire drill in one of the institutions housing children. In another the equipment was provided, but drill was neglected, At one of the hospitals for the insane electric lights went out at 10 o'clock, because of the expense of all-night service. At the same institution the power house is located within the quadrangle housing inmates. Danger from fire or explosion, wear and tear of the noise on the nerves of both officials and patients, and the unpleasantness of smoke might just as well have been avoided by the selection of a different location. Should there be a fire in this institution at night, with only lantern light to aid in removing the patients, it would be too late to decide that a small dynamo and all-night lighting was an economy for the state.

Barring a few items, of which I have not hesitated to mention the worst, we would be justified in concluding that the inmates of our state institutions are well fed, well housed, and well clothed in comparison with accepted standards and the standards of other states. It is the

greatest misfortune that our system of centralized control does not extend to county and municipality. The same material needs are to be found in all institutions alike, the same standards of efficiency are applicable to all, and the same studies could be utilized for the advancement of all. In many instances, the same methods of administration could be employed.

Remedial Functions.

Were we willing to utilize our institutions for custodial work only, were we willing to ignore the statement of the committee report that social correction is expressed in a low form by the mere erection of institutions and the housing therein of the state wards, we might readily agree that the primary essentials of supervision were already established in Washington. But realizing, as we do, that the needs of our state and modern progress both demand that the functions of our institutions be remedial and constructive, as well as custodial, we must estimate the ultimate efficiency of our system by other than purely relief work. The greatest remedial function of the institution is to heal, to correct and to educate. If we fail to place at the head of our institutions men who are specialists, each in his own line; if we fail to recognize that the work of the social psychologist is just as important as that of the physician; if we fail to secure the best educational and vocational experts for our reformatories and training schools, we are tinkering with the very lives of our charges.

* * *

As a matter of fact, the purpose of any modern training school is educational; its conduct should be educational and it should be so considered by the public. *Our* institution is largely penal and reformatory in character and conduct, and it is so considered by the public. I wonder what may be the character and conduct of *your* training school?

How, let me ask, does the state training school differ in purpose from the city parental school, or the city schools for delinquents? Both of these are integral parts of the public school system. There is but one difference—the state school is an evolution from the old prison system and clings to its old characteristics; the city schools are an evolution from the public school system and share in its modern progress. Both systems should be doing the same class of work, but they are not. Where the city school is directed with the greatest skill and keenest insight into the specific needs of the individual child, where the remedial and constructive side is constantly uppermost, the state school has no educational standards, no educational supervision and the custodial function is ever to the fore. No institution can do remedial work if it does not know what it is trying to remedy, and neither our officials, nor our public, have ever dreamed of the magnificent preventive and constructive possibilities of a well managed state school.

Quite recently one of our eastern courts was obliged to decide whether a child who was committed to a state training school had been committed to a penal and reform institution, or to an educational institution. It decided in favor of the educational institution. When our courts begin to be progressive it is about time for the rest of the country to wake up. I suspect we have judges in Washington who are intelligent and progressive enough to make the same decision and if there were publicity enough attached they might be quite heroes. Whether our legislative bodies would be progressive enough to appreciate such a decision is open to question. Our bill, establishing the State School for Girls, which was introduced at the last session of the legislature, was drawn as an educational bill, its provisions were educational and were intended to remedy many of the defects in the present system. We had asked to have this bill referred to the educational committee. It was read, so referred, and so printed. After a brief interval, the chairman of the penal and reformatory committee came to the sponsor for the bill and requested him to re-refer it to the penal and reformatory committee, remarking that it was a discourtesy to him to allow it to go to the educational committee. His colleague, with a proper apology for the discourtesy, withdrew the bill and had it re-referred to the penal and reformatory committee. Were this not so serious a reflection on the intelligence of the legislature, it might be ludicrous.

Social workers are always interested in the seemly deportment of our lawmaking bodies, and even the dullest of our number realizes that there were several serious breaches of etiquette at Olympia last winter. We would hardly concede, however, that the most flagrant discourtesy was the referring of an educational bill to an educational committee.

The same question arises with reference to the purpose of the schools for the blind and the deaf. Is charity the purpose of these institutions? Why most certainly not. Their purpose is exactly the same as that of the day schools for deaf and blind, which are, again, an integral part of the public school system. There are serious preventive and constructive problems in connection with the subject of blindness and deafness, and the state school and the city school should work together toward the best professional solution of these problems.

The public is responsible, not only for the purpose of its institutions, but also for seeing that their location is such that their purpose may best be realized. The location of the school for the blind at Vancouver was one of the greatest blunders that the state has ever made in this line. Limiting the area of location for the State School for Girls was another of the same kind, but in the latter case it was made in the full blaze of twentieth century knowledge and is absolutely inexcusable.

In the course of conversation, a young boy at the school for the blind, with the hopefulness which is one of youth's greatest blessings, said to me: "You know, Mrs. Reed, I do not always expect to be blind. I can see if I can have a doctor." Pursuing the subject, I learned that the child had consulted one of our best Seattle oculists and had been

encouraged to believe that care would restore his sight. Had the location of the school permitted, the oculist would gladly have donated his services. I wonder if the public ever stops to ask what special treatment the children in its institutions need, and where they are to get it. Suppose that this boy were your child?

But this was not all. I was told that the city of our sister state, which is naturally the geographical municipal center for Vancouver, had offered medical attention gratis, and that this offer had been refused by our authorities because *Portland was on the wrong side of the river.* There should be neither right nor wrong side of a river when the eyesight of a child is at stake. Either we should accept the offer of Portland, and be ready to return it, as it is given, in the service of humanity, or we should locate our institutions where the inmates may have proper medical attention, from residents of Washington cities.

I think it would be well if the committee report for next year, in the section where it mentions gubernatorial political abuse, would try to incorporate some suggestion for checking legislative political abuse, and increasing legislative intelligence. We can trust our governors, in Washington, better than we can trust our legislatures. In fact there is plenty of prima facie evidence that individual intelligence in Washington is more intelligent than collective intelligence; that individual responsibility is more responsible than collective responsibility.

Were there time I should like to speak of the expert service needed in selecting our institutional libraries, looking after our parole system, studying the cost of crime and the probable advantages of a centralized probation system, minimizing the dangers from feeble-mindedness, and many other problems, all of which are professional, partly remedial and partly constructive.

Conclusions.

I have tried to outline, briefly, the system of charities and corrections in use in Washington and its political sub-division and to mention some of our problems. We have seen that neither county nor municipality has any system of either supervision or administration which is worthy of the name. The responsibility and duty of the public is perfectly evident and needs no discussion. I trust we shall receive some valuable assistance from the section meetings which are discussing this problem during the conference.

Our state, in the establishment of a central board of control, has proceeded in the right direction and is in harmony with both the accepted theory and the best practice of the country. By this board, much has been done toward placing the outside management of our institutions upon a business basis. If, in any line, we do not have an efficient and economical administration of business affairs it is not because our system is wrong, or because we are in need of further legislation, but because of weakness in administration.

In problems of inside management, such as food consumption, selecting and utilizing libraries, organizing and supervising an educational

system, and establishing modern and effective parole systems, our boards and superintendents are inclined to rely too much upon their own judgment. In many of these lines expert opinion is at the disposal of the state and should be secured without delay.

As the fundamental object of the conference is advancement in social welfare, I have chosen, this evening, to mention the defects of our institutions, rather than to praise their virtues. Had I felt that it was more compatible with the purpose of this meeting, I could as well have told you of the modern educational system which we are establishing at our reformatory; of the sanitary conditions at our penitentiary; of the constantly increasing usefulness of our institution for the feeble-minded under the direction of a tireless and devoted superintendent; I could have shown you that our hospitals for the insane were worthy of the confidence of thinking people, or I might have told you that in no institution of the country have I found higher moral standards and more effective training for highminded citizenship than in our school for the deaf. I might also have said a word about the happy home circle which I so greatly admired in the Oregon school for the blind, or called attention to the work accomplished in the same state in its school for the deaf. All of these points have been mentioned in the printed reports and can be read by those who have sufficient interest. On the whole, I am proud of the institutions of Washington. They are comprehensively free from political influence; with one or two exceptions well trained professional superintendents are in charge, and in most cases, they are meeting the changing conception of the purpose of institutional life fairly successfully.

The problems of preventive and constructive philanthropy are, naturally, very largely city problems. If our city corrections are breeding places of crime, our state institutions will continue to be filled no matter how many state agencies we may institute for remedial and constructive philanthropy. If our city maternity homes are refuges of crime, the state may combat the social evil in vain and continue to build institutions for the blind and the feeble-minded. Maternity homes and baby homes should not be allowed to operate without a state license, and I say this in spite of the fact that one of our representatives has recently stated that Washington is licensing everything that it is possible to license, and taxing everything that is left over.

The field of charity is indivisible. As the states are, so the nation will be, and as the cities are so the state will be. Advancement or retrogression in the future will depend largely upon the manner in which our social problems are handled by our municipalities.

When we leave our system of control, we find that state *supervision*, as defined in the committee report, a broad governmental supervision, including all existing charities and corrections, public, semi-public, and private; a supervision extending into the constantly widening field of social reconstruction, is non-existent in Washington. Our state has

not yet taken an inventory of its responsibilities in the line of philanthropy; it does not realize how much it has to supervise, or how rapidly the field is widening, which, sooner or later, must be covered by both administration and supervision. It does not seem possible that we can progress, as we should, along constructive lines, until we have evolved some system to meet the social needs which we are now neglecting, and to guide in solving the social problems of the future. A system which can furnish leadership to go hand in hand with the business leadership furnished by the board of control; one that can take an active and responsible part in constructive legislation and the conservation of humanity; one that can advise with the board of control and the superintendents; one that can interest and educate public opinion, and guide and stimulate original research.

The *form* of supervision does not matter, provided it be all inclusive and adapted to the needs of the state. The most generally approved form, at present, is probably a state board of charities, but no state has yet found an entirely satisfactory solution of the problem.

One of our institutions, the reformatory at Monroe, has had a separate board of managers. From the fact that this is the only correctional institution in the state which has a modern educational system, an organized and efficient parole system, and a professional study class for employees; from the fact that it was the only correctional institution in whose bookcases I found the best modern works on penology and criminology and on whose library tables were the best periodicals on delinquency, I think we are justified in concluding that the advice and supervision of the second board has been of great benefit in increasing the efficiency of the institution along remedial and constructive lines.

Membership in unpaid boards is often hard to secure, but when it is possible the state usually obtains services which money cannot buy. Those whose duties are advisory, recommendatory and critical will always be subjected to more or less criticism. No one can afford to accept such a position who is unwilling to face issues squarely, or who lacks the courage of his convictions. Convictions should be acquired slowly for it has been well said that the courage required to uphold and enforce convictions is too precious to be wasted on superficial judgments or snapshot opinions.

The establishment of state supervision is the greatest social need of our system in Washington. Under such a system many of the larger social problems, which we are not now solving, could be solved. Washington is a progressive state—theft of this word by our third national party may be responsible for abrogation of the rule excluding politics from conference platforms, and I have all confidence that before the coming of another conference her executive and her people will have solved this problem, and will have established a supervisory system as modern in principle, and as practical in operation, as is our present administrative system.

ADDRESS.

Hon. Ernest Lister, Governor of Washington.

During the year 1900 I had the pleasure of being a member of the Conference held at Topeka, Kansas; and at a later date I was a member of the Conference held in Portland, Oregon. The papers of this evening are much the same as those that have been heard by you who have attended these Conferences in years gone by. They all show that there are great opportunities for improvement in the systems of management of public and private institutions such as you are interested in. Looking back to the year 1900 and up to the present time I can see marked improvement in the management of public and private institutions. No doubt that has come about to a great extent on account of the work done by those who are gathered here tonight, and others engaged in like work.

Bad Effects of Politics.

Conferences of this kind are of great assistance in public institutional work, and will continue to be so. In the state of Washington we have to admit that we have not a perfect system. But we feel here that there has been improvement in recent years; and greater improvements will be made in the next few years. The trouble with the management of our public institutions often is, as has been said, a desire to mix politics with the institution. No institution will be benefited, nor will those being cared for in the institution be benefited, if such institution is used as a political institution. Neither will any such institution be benefited by some one being held in a position because he has been there for a number of years, when he has never shown any ability to advance with the times. I believe that changes in public institutions are just as necessary on account of the second, as the first reason. I believe that the tendency often is for those in charge of public institutions to feel that they have a position there on account of certain knowledge which they possess and which cannot be taken away from them. When the head of an institution gets that kind of a feeling the service he can render that institution has ceased to be the best. We must have in our public institutions those that are interested in the work of which they have charge; those who are willing to spend night and day in endeavoring to improve conditions. With that kind of work, the day has about gone by in every state in our union when a public official is going to be removed for political reasons.

We formerly had local boards for the management of public institutions. That was not entirely satisfactory, the result being that to a great degree it made these institutions local rather than state institutions. In 1897 the legislature passed a law creating what was known as the state board of audit and control. That board consisted of five members, only one of whom received a salary, and he was

known as the commissioner of public institutions. I was honored by being the one member of the board receiving a salary, and acting as such commissioner. In 1901 the legislature passed a law creating a board of control with three members, each receiving a salary. That law still remains on our statute books. Two years I occupied the position of chairman of the board of control. Other institutions have been added to the board, and I believe that from the best standpoint this board has been a success in almost every particular. A great deal of work has been done by this board in the management of the institutions along lines that we all are interested in.

Public Should Be Better Informed.

I feel this, however, that better results would come to the state institutions and to those confined in them if the people of the state felt more interested in these public institutions. Too often the people know nothing about the public institutions of the state, even though they may be located within a few miles of their home. That's one of the troubles with the management of state institutions; the public does not know what the institutions stand for, nor what the state is conducting them for. I believe good results can be obtained and are obtained by frequent investigations of institutions by people other than the superintendents or the members of the board in charge. As chairman of the State Board of Control I always felt that institutions were receiving great benefit whenever the chief executive of the state took interest in them, visited them and went through the different departments. In the state of Washington, while acting as chief executive, I desire to say to this audience gathered from all parts of the United States, that as its chief executive I have already frequently visited the institutions in charge of the Board of Control.

It is a big proposition, the management of a state. The head of a state ought to know what the different departments of the state are doing. There is only one way to get that information, and that is to make a personal investigation. I have done that and expect to do it and know that such action will be encouraging to the heads of the institutions. No head of an institution having the proper conception of his duties will take offense at any inspection or investigation on the part of any public official, or on the part of any committee of private citizens.

Helpful Investigation.

Another line that I have followed and expect to follow during the time I may be in public office, is to delegate to someone other than members of certain boards the investigation of certain institutions within the borders of the state. The idea is not to publish the fact that on a certain day a certain individual will be sent to a certain institution for the purpose of investigation; but whenever the time comes that it seems wise to have an inspection made, I hope to call to my assistance

someone who understands the particular line in which I desire to have the investigation made, to make such investigation. Again I say the superintendent of any institution will be glad to have that kind of an investigation made, if he is doing his full duty by the institution.

We have got beyond the point in the management of institutions where they are considered simply places for housing criminals, insane, or children whose parents fail to care for them. We are trying to reform those who may have been sent to the penitentiary or reformatory; and for those in the hospitals for insane everything is done to again fit them to take their place in life. These lines are different from the ones followed twenty-five or thirty years ago, and great advancement has been made. Parole laws of the state passed in recent years relating to our penitentiaries and reformatories have done and will continue to do great good. Today I signed the final release of about twenty inmates of our state penitentiary who have been out on parole for not less than six months, in some cases a year, and who have made good while out on parole. In the great majority of those cases there is no question in my mind but that those men will go out into the world and do their duty as citizens of this great country. There will be some mistakes made in the granting of paroles. That is to be expected. But it is better that an opportunity be given wherever feasible. If 75 per cent. make good as the result of the parole, I believe the state has done wisely in granting such parole.

Sources of Public Institution Population.

I think we might do a great work if we would spend a little more time in endeavoring to study the first causes of our social ills, rather than to be satisfied with curing them after trouble has come. The automobile is possibly one of the greatest institutions of the age; but I think it has brought upon the different conferences of charities also a great duty. One of the greatest evils today in relation to the young people of any community in our state is the automobile joy riding. If the road house and the opportunities for joy riding were eliminated we would have fewer cases of boys and girls, young men and young women, getting into our public institutions as the result. In Tacoma last week two lives were lost from this cause alone. In Seattle we hear similar stories. What is true of Seattle and Tacoma is probably true of other cities. I believe our public officials could render great service if more stringent efforts were put forth to close all the road houses that cause trouble in this line. If the chief executive of the state of Washington has any power that will assist in doing that I will say to every official present here that I shall be glad to be called upon and will render assistance to the best of my ability.

I believe that by trying to build up rather than tear down, trying to encourage public officials who are doing their duty, trying to help the heads of different institutions, great good is being done and will continue to be done in our state.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUNICIPAL CHARITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

Stanley H. Howe, Educational Secretary of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

The persistent influence of the National Conference of Charities and Correction on the progress of municipal charities in the United States has been equaled only by its apparent indifference toward their development. Yearly discussions of the various problems of public charity have had their inevitable effect upon officials in city, county, and state and (which is more significant) upon the thinking citizens of the communities in which the Conferences have been held. Ideas formulated here have found their way into city charters and ideals inspired here have commanded recognition in new programs for community social service. Men and women educated here have, in increasing numbers, taken their places at the helm to guide municipalities in their enlarging work of social reconstruction. Yet, while this tremendous influence has been steadily at work, the Conference itself has not for fifteen years paused to witness its own works—to take retrospect on the development of municipal charities, to catalogue the results achieved, or to attempt to discover through the haze of incomplete facts and unestablished experiments some common measure of the services performed and some common vision of the promises yet to be fulfilled.

When Mr. Homer Folks made his invaluable report on city and county charities to the National Conference in 1898 it was the general feeling that municipal charities had been conspicuous among the disappointments of American city government. Municipal charities were universally vastly inferior to state charities—less adequate, less scientific, less humane, and less free from partisan politics. "From what our eyes, ears, and noses have told us," declared Mr. Folks fifteen years ago, "we know that city charities range in character from good to very bad, and that the number of the bad is discouragingly large."

Field Formerly Neglected.

With few exceptions, the administration of public charity was in the hands of men who knew little, and felt less, about the human problems with which they had to deal. Public officials in general were as intolerant of private charity workers as private workers were suspicious of officials. Community social service meant little more than a slot machine disbursement of public out-door relief and the indifferent operation of a county convenience commonly known as the almshouse. Classification of the socially inadequate was careless and crude; the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the inebriate, the tuberculous, the aged and infirm, were often herded together in a common dumping-ground. In the majority of cities, the municipal lodging-house was located in the basement of the city jail. Inebriety was still regarded as a crime rather than a disease. The fight against tuberculosis in city, county,

and state was yet to be begun. The first municipal bath or washhouse was yet to be constructed. City subsidies to private institutions were as generous as they were indiscriminate and unscientific. Most discouraging of all, public charity was as subservient to party politics as any other phase of municipal activty. The work of humanizing city government seemed despairingly remote. The administration of municipal charities was generally regarded by social workers as hopelessly indolent, incompetent, and corrupt.

The past decade in American history, however, has witnessed a tremendous and almost spectacular upward trend in the character of municipal governments. Higher ideals of civic righteousness have swept the land, overturning decrepit old party organizations and wrecking discredited old political administrations. Bureaus of municipal research have come into existence to demand greater efficiency and greater humanity in the execution of municipal affairs. Chambers of commerce have stepped to the front to lend their aid to the work of social reconstruction. Through the various departments of city governments, health and police and public works as well as charities, have developed a new and larger conception of the city's social responsibility—a realization at last that the government is not from the community a thing apart, but that the community is as permanently responsible for the virtue of the government as the government is responsible for the welfare of the community.

And is this but the dream of a visionary? What are the signs of the times that justify this faith?

Widespread Improvements in Fifteen Years.

First of all, we may record a notable improvement in forms of organization of municipal charities in many cities, and more significant still, the advent of a higher type of men to the administration of these departments. Since 1898 Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, Kansas City, Cincinnati, Washington, Los Angeles, Rochester, and many other cities, have made important changes in their forms of organization. In 1900 Washington discontinued its confused system of dividing the functions of public charity among the various departments of government in the District of Columbia, and centralized the work in an unpaid Board of Charities with a salaried executive. In the same year Baltimore displaced its seven Trustees of the Poor with a Board of nine Supervisors to be appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the city council. In 1903 Philadelphia divorced its charities from the Department of Corrections. In 1910 Kansas City established its unique Board of Public Welfare. In January, 1912, Cincinnati established a Department of Charities and Corrections to be administered by a salaried executive under the advisement of a Social Service Commission consisting of five citizens who serve without pay. Two months ago a city ordinance was passed in Los Angeles creating an unpaid Municipal Charities Commission of five members with a salaried executive, vested

with unusual powers and responsibilities. Even while many of us were en route to this Conference, Cleveland made some changes in the city charter which will materially increase the effectiveness of a Department of Charities which is already celebrated for its achievements.

In many of our large cities, of course, the organization of municipal charities is still unsatisfactory and ineffective. In some municipalities such as Boston, St. Louis, and Chicago, the work of public welfare seems to be an illogical scattering of responsibilities among various city boards or departments. In certain cities of the Central and Western states, which are affected by a perplexing confusion of the functions of county and city, such as Seattle, Portland, Milwaukee, Chicago, and New Orleans, there can scarcely be said to exist any tangible municipal charities. In a number of cities, whose problems are sufficiently large to warrant the administration of a separate department of charities, the work is ineffectively co-ordinated with that of some other department. In general, however, the organization of municipal charities has improved materially in recent years, their conduct has been made more free from the influence of party politics, and their administration has been placed in the hands of a more efficient and more social-minded group of public officials. Though the history of municipal charities seems to warrant the conclusion that the most effective form of organization is that in which the responsibility is centralized in one salaried executive, aided perhaps by an unpaid board of visitors, one fact stands out more clear and decisive still—that the form of organization of any department is of subordinate importance to the character of the man who has charge of its administration.

Better Treatment of Special Classes.

The second feature in the development of municipal charities in recent years has been the improved classification of the various groups of dependents, and the consequent splitting up and gradual disappearance of the old almshouse. One by one the different classes of unfortunates who formerly occupied the almshouse have been put under the care of city, county or state in separate institutions. The tendency of the state to relieve city and county of the care of the insane and the feeble-minded was already conspicuous prior to 1898. The warfare of city, county, and state against tuberculosis has been waged entirely since that time. The establishment of municipal lodging-houses and the growth of the farm colony idea promise new homes for the resourceless wanderer. Special treatment for the inebriate creates another gap in the usefulness of the almshouse; only the aged and infirm are left as an apology for its continued existence. This scientific classification of dependents is not, however, as yet characteristic of all, or even of the majority of our cities. In many instances the neglect of the state to care for its own wards has made it impossible for cities within the state to provide properly for their dependents. Philadelphia, under a progressive administration, has sought vainly to relieve the chaotic con-

gestion of various classes of unfortunates in Blockley Hospital; it has recently voiced a protest against the state's neglect of the insane by refusing to accept any more patients of this nature at the Hospital.

A third characteristic of the development of municipal charities has been the improvement of the system of city appropriations to private institutions. While this improvement has not been very wide-spread, some cities have given up the subsidy system entirely, while others, such as New York and Washington, have displaced the unscientific "lump sum" appropriations with a more intelligent system of subsidies on a contract or per capita basis. In the cities of Wisconsin subsidies are prohibited by state law. There can be no doubt that the general tendency is toward appropriations only on the basis of actual work done, with the ultimate goal of abolition of the system entirely.

Helpful Relations With Private Charity.

Of far-reaching importance to public welfare has been the growing tendency toward closer co-operation between public and private agencies. In many cities organizations have been formed to work in harmony with the city to promote the efficiency of municipal charities. The Committee on Municipal Charities of Philadelphia, the Social Service Commission of Cincinnati, and the Civic League of St. Louis, are typical examples of this increasing spirit of co-operation. A few cities, such as Toledo and Cincinnati, have even placed the administration of public out-door relief in the hands of private agencies.

Another development of the past fifteen years has been the growth of the municipal lodging house movement. New York, Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Washington, Minneapolis, Providence, and many other cities now maintain lodging-houses for men and women without a home. St. Louis is planning the erection of such an institution. Seattle has a home for vagrants under the administration of the Juvenile Protective and Humane Department.

A sixth tendency in municipal charities has been the enlargement of the system of public outdoor relief through the establishment of widows' or mothers' pensions. Though the wisdom of this movement is still to be established by the facts, it is at least indicative of an increasing popular interest in social problems. This growing interest has been attended by a gradual change of attitude toward the various classes of dependents. The terms "worthy poor," "pauper children," "almshouses," and even "charities and correction," are bound to become eventually the obsolete expressions of a forgotten vocabulary. For the old religious idea of complete individual responsibility has been substituted a new feeling of permanent social obligation.

New Conceptions Affect Municipal Organization.

All these tendencies are characteristic of a new and higher ideal of social service. Communities have awakened to a new conception of the real meaning of neighborhood. The epoch-making movement for public

health is characteristic of this new ideal. The establishment of playgrounds, recreation centers, juvenile courts, and the promotion of the child hygiene and baby-saving movement are indicative of this persistent upward trend. The growth of the campaign for housing reform is an important chapter in the same story. The municipal bath and the first city laundry have been established since 1898. The effort to socialize our school system is of recent origin.

These signs of the new ideals are visible everywhere. The desire for community service is reaching into all departments of city governments. Municipal charities in the past decade have taken more vigorous forward strides than state charities, and in many sections of the country bid fair to overtake them. From Seattle to New York cities are rising to refute the former indictment of James Bryce that municipal government is the one dismal failure of the United States. It is the American city that will at last answer the hopeful prophecy of Emerson that the time is coming "when the sluggard intellect of this nation will look from under its iron lids and fulfill the postponed expectations of the world with something better than a mechanical skill." Social justice is becoming recognized as something more than a happy catchphrase in national politics. It represents a definite, permanent, constructive program for human welfare in nation, state, and municipality. It has been the keynote of the present remarkable development of municipal charities in the United States.

BOARDS OF PUBLIC WELFARE AND GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT.

L. A. Halbert, General Superintendent Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City, Missouri.

The Board of Public Welfare movement is so young that it has no definite and generally understood set of activities or principles of action. The Kansas City Board of Public Welfare is frequently quoted as a type, but I find that there are private societies known as welfare leagues in two or three states and these lay special emphasis on the problem of the social evil, and there are various city boards of social welfare with different functions which confuse people as to what a Board of Public Welfare is. In this way, it happens that boards of public welfare may mean one thing in one man's mouth and another in another's. I think it is highly desirable that the type of organization known as "Board of Public Welfare" should have a set of principles as well defined, and a field of action and form of organization as well understood in public service as charity organization societies, or associated charities, have in the field of private charity. I would like, therefore, in this address to establish certain propositions in regard to boards of public welfare, if possible, which would help to standardize the use of this term.

Underlying Principles of Boards of Public Welfare.

In the first place, our Kansas City Board of Public Welfare is crystalizing the idea that society at large should regard all the dependent, defective and delinquent people as in a certain sense, wards of society and should make provision through its government machinery for the care of all of them.

In the second place, I would say, the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare epitomizes the idea that we should extend the functions of government so as to effectively control the conditions of living and remove the causes of misery.

In the third place, in the interests of efficiency, which is the watchword of our times, the Board of Public Welfare aims to concentrate into a single system all the agencies for caring for the unfortunate classes and controlling the environment out of which they come.

In the fourth place, by availing ourselves of the new type of trained professional social workers, by means of sociological research, and by using the books which set forth the findings of social science, the Board of Public Welfare aims to achieve scientific social action.

I would say, then, that a board of public welfare is a government board whose policy is based on these four fundamental ideas:

1. Government care for the unfortunate classes.
2. Government control of the conditions of living.
3. The centralization of all the government's social agencies into one system.
4. The establishment of social action on a scientific basis.

This same form of organization is adapted to carrying on the social work of any government unit, whether city, county, state or nation.

Government Care for the Unfortunate Classes.

In emphasizing the idea that society has an obligation to care for all the unfortunate classes through its government machinery, no idea is entertained that private efforts toward the care of the poor should be discouraged, or that the obligations of kinship should be reduced, but it is simply asserted that the government should see that these are as effective as possible and should supplement them in whatever way may be necessary to make the care of the unfortunates entirely adequate and effective. The Board of Public Welfare makes a strong effort, for example, to force the husband and father to carry the burdens that naturally belong to him in connection with his family and tries to see that children fulfill their natural obligations to their parents.

It is a fairly well recognized principle today that some unit of government should exercise enough supervision over private charities to protect the interests of the beneficiaries. Children's homes and child placing agencies are especially accountable to society for the way they care for their wards. Private hospitals of all sorts have to be carefully watched, but especially hospitals for the insane and maternity homes.

to see that abuses do not grow up which will injure the inmates of these institutions as well as injure society. In regard to the public, rather than the private support of such people as become dependent on charity, I would say, there is an extensive feeling in society today that a great deal of their misery comes from social causes and the ends of justice for the community can be better served if relief becomes mainly an expression of public justice rather than of private charity. It is more just to have the burden of caring for the poor laid upon the entire community through taxation than to have it borne by the voluntary gifts of private individuals. If the causes of dependency are social, then the relief given to alleviate this condition of dependence should not carry with it any stigma or reflection on the character of the beneficiaries. If society will trace the evil to that particular part of the social machinery which is defective or oppressive, and cause restitution to be made, such as is contemplated in the compensation acts for industrial accidents, then the relief becomes merely a business transaction and the element of charity is entirely eliminated. If we had more direct efforts to effect a just distribution of wealth, we might cause relief to flow into the pockets of the poor as a matter of justice rather than as a matter of charity. For the present, we must use taxes to do justice in the form of relief.

For such poverty as arises from defectiveness and delinquency, justice will not suffice and we must still have charity and such charity needs to be coupled with a measure of authority which can be better exercised by the state than by any private agency.

Should Give Worthy Tasks to the Government.

I cannot avoid the feeling that there is a certain amount of sectarianism in the attempt of any private organization to control so important a public function of society as the relief of the poor. I believe it is incumbent on those who wish to do the most to make relief work effective to take all of society into their counsels and to try to lead society as a whole, and not to try to take out of the hands of society a certain function on the theory that the people are not intelligent enough to handle it. This kind of dangerous fallacy, if it were generally applied, would reduce the government to an aristocracy. The argument is used that private societies must handle this work very carefully because of the important effect which may be had on the character of the poor by unwise charity. Against this must be set the argument that an exclusive or undemocratic expression of the charitable sentiments of the community must tend to have a very disastrous effect in destroying these sentiments altogether. If you take the finer and nobler tasks out of the hands of the government, there will not be much left about the government to love, and patriotism cannot thrive.

I believe that the public spirited citizens, instead of nursing their project of poor relief in a sequestered spot sheltered from the influence of politics and corruption, should take their project and throw it in the

broad stream of human affairs and then should follow their pet project out into the open and do battle with its enemies wherever it may be necessary. If people should try to protect the administration of public relief from corrupting influences, the success of their project would depend on their ability to maintain honest and efficient government. Who would say that if public spirited men would give the same amount of care and attention to efforts to control and perfect the funds for public outdoor relief, that they now give to promoting their private societies, they could not easily control this small branch of public machinery? If they should control it properly. they would be doing more good to the community by that service than they would by promoting a very good private relief agency.

Institutional Activities of Board

The care of the defective and delinquent classes is already recognized to be a legitimate burden of the state to a greater extent than the care of the dependent, but the supervision of the state has not been effectively extended to more than a very small per cent. of the defective classes and there is the greatest need that some kind of government control should be exercised over all of them in order to prevent their propagation and thus provide for their ultimate elimination. Even in medical inspection of schools and the special care of backward children, there is represented the tendency of the state to give greater attention to removing all the curable defects from every member of society, but only marked and comparatively permanent defectiveness falls within the field of obligation represented by the Board of Public Welfare.

The machinery of society for dealing with delinquency is becoming much more rich, complex and adaptable, but society comes far from having a machinery with every gradation of restraint from friendly oversight to absolute physical control, and this is what is really required to deal with the delinquent in an adequate manner. There are a lot of people in the world who need a business manager for life. Their failure is so chronic that society ought to make the receivership permanent. Possibly, more or less permanent guidance or guardianship outside of an institution might serve to keep these people in the ordinary channels of society for some time and the need of permanent custody in an institution be thus avoided. The Parole Department of the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City has supervision at the present time of about 500 people who are now on parole. Inasmuch as Kansas City has thousands of transients who make this place their headquarters, and the Board does not try to restrain the movements of transient people when they are paroled, the result is that nearly one-half of their wards are usually out of town. A total of 2,569 persons have been paroled during the past year. Of these, 213 were returned to custody on account of the violation of their paroles. The department gives special attention to cases where men are charged with non-support and has, during the past year, collected $9,651.71 from delinquent husbands and turned it over to their families.

There must be a continuous effort toward the restoration to a normal status, if possible, of those people who have been cast off, or cast down, through evil conditions, but still have capacity to maintain the required standards if they have an opportunity and proper encouragement. The Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City divides the work of caring for the unfortunate classes with the county and state agencies. Those people who are permanently defective or abnormal are subjects for such institutions as the County Home, the insane asylum and the institution for the feeble-minded where they must have continuous custodial care, and not infrequently it falls to the lot of our workers to forward such people to their destination. For the purpose of correcting the faults of the delinquents and restoring them to society, we have our Municipal Farm, Women's Reformatory and Parole Department; and to restore the dependent to self-support, we have our temporary shelter at the Helping Hand Institute, our Convalescent Committee at the General Hospital, our social workers making constructive plans for families and individuals, who have applied to the private agencies that use our social service department, and our Registration Bureau and indorsement plan for helping the private charitable agencies.

Government Control of Conditions of Living.

By the term, conditions of living, I mean to designate all the elements that make up the environment of the people. It has been the primary object of the Board of Public Welfare to secure for the people of all sections of the city a reasonably good environment in which to (1) live and (2) work and (3) play. Environment is a very comprehensive term and every department of government, all forms of industry, all churches, schools and social organizations are factors which go to comprise the people's environment. Of course, we are not qualified to exercise any supervision or even to criticise intelligently all this round of human activities, but we are required to care for the individuals who are cast off as moral or financial failures, because they do not respond to the appeal or fit into the plans made for these activities.

The standard of living below which people must fall before they become dependent on charity and the standard of conduct below which they must descend before they are arrested, are so low that any social machinery which would tend to cast off normal people as either financial or moral failures is itself abnormal machinery. We may try to rectify such gross defects in our social machinery without making any claim to be critics of the fine points of efficiency in realms outside of the scope of our own work. We are fully convinced that no people born with normal faculties should be either led or driven into pauperism or crime and the ranks of the poor and the delinquent are filled with people who began life as normal individuals.

1. To give people normal houses in which to live, we maintain our housing inspection.

2. To give them normal environment in which to work, we have our Factory Inspection Department, Employment Bureau, Municipal Quarry, Vacant Lot Gardening, Legal Aid Bureau and Loan Agency.

3. To give them a normal environment in which to play, we maintain our dance inspection and our criticism of other forms of commercial recreation and promote our social centers in the school houses.

Achievements of Kansas City Board.

I can hardly hope to give you an adequate impression of what is meant by this list of activities without summarizing briefly the achievements represented by them. Although our city does not have as great a housing problem as some in proportion to its population, and our machinery is not even as extensive as it should be, the Board of Public Welfare investigators inspected 3,692 houses last year and through their efforts caused 38 to be condemned and torn down; caused 78 condemned wells to be closed up; caused 6 houses to be condemned and vacated which were not torn down; and caused a great variety of repairs of all sorts to be made, which repairs and improvements represent an approximate expenditure of $34,650.00 on the part of the landlords.

In the Factory Inspection Department, 1,130 orders were issued during the last fiscal year and more than two-thirds of these have already been complied with. Several of them involved putting in exhaust systems for carrying away dust and smoke and lint, that cost in the neighborhood of $1,000 apiece. One large iron working establishment put in extensive washrooms at a cost of over $2,000. Safe guards were placed on many jointers, punch presses, fly wheels, etc., and numerous safeguards against fire were installed. Violations of the Nine Hour Law and Child Labor Law have been carefully checked.

During the last fiscal year, our Free Employment Bureau secured 30,359 jobs for men, of one kind or another, mostly temporary jobs, at housecleaning, etc., and 381 jobs for women, and our Municipal Quarry offered employment to fifty or sixty destitute men per day during the winter.

One hundred and sixty-seven families made gardens on vacant lots secured free for their use through the offices of the Board of Public Welfare.

Our Legal Aid Bureau handled 7,000 cases for poor litigants during the past year. Our Loan Agency has 1,200 live accounts at the present time and about $50,000 outstanding in loans. All these activities contribute toward giving the people a better chance.

The Board of Public Welfare dance inspectors attended 2,670 dances during the past year for the purpose of enforcing as high a standard of conduct as possible, and during the latter part of the year, the department has developed a system of moton picture censorship which is now operative over the 110 picture shows of the city, and has closed up eight

immoral shows, and in other ways has endeavored to make the places where the people play, as clean as possible.

No matter what property rights are involved, it is being recognized today that no consideration for these rights can be used as a means for continuing a really unhealthy or oppressive condition of living. Anything that is injurious to the public is justly subject to regulation.

Centralizing the Government's Social Agencies.

The care of the poor, the sick, and the delinquent are interrelated problems. People who are too poor to secure a reasonable standard of living become sick, or people who are sick lose their earning capacity and become poor. People whose resistance is weakened either by poverty or sickness frequently become delinquent, and criminals often become poor through shiftlessness or sick through vice and dissipation. Because of this interrelation, it is important that the agencies dealing with all these classes should be carefully co-ordinated. Poverty, sickness and delinquency are also closely related to bad living and working conditions. Therefore, agencies for improving living and working conditions also need to be closely correlated to those dealing with the unfortunate.

The *comprehensiveness* of the work of the Board of Public Welfare is the most marked characteristic about the whole scheme. There is nothing done by the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City that is not being done elsewhere by some social agency, but there is no other place, that I know of, where a government agency has so many lines of activity correlated under one authority. The range of activities already covered can be judged by what I have said about the care of the unfortunate classes and the control of the conditions of living. I believe that if I were to devise a plan for the Board of Public Welfare under new conditions, I would favor correlating, or including, all the ordinary activities of a health department in the same general organization. The division of labor between the city, state, county and national units of government, is one which cannot be fully discussed here, but I can say that subordination and correlation ought to be instituted, covering the activities of the various government units as a whole. For the present, the cities can simply correlate such activities as they already have in existence, or may properly institute as cities.

In every large city, there are at work charitable agencies, correctional agencies, tenement house commissions or other machinery for improving housing conditions, agencies for dealing with industrial problems such as a bureau of labor statistics, an employment bureau and a department of factory inspection. There are other agencies working at the health problems of sanitary inspection, medical inspection of schools, the prevention of infant mortality, the control of contagious diseases and the maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries, etc., and there should be added to this category, the agencies maintained by the school authorities for preventing truancy and the cure of incorrigibility

and backwardness. All these must be woven into one united system. As a first step in this direction, I would suggest the maintenance of a common registry of cases, and a mutual exchange of information. In fact, no registry will be large enough to serve the purposes of all these agencies, excepting a registry of the entire population. The Boston Associated Charities has developed a very remarkable registration bureau, or Confidential Exchange, as they prefer to call it, for the use of social betterment agencies. It is quite complete so far as the registration of cases by private agencies is concerned, and also contains the registry of cases from the overseers of the poor and the State Board of Minor Wards, but makes no attempt to record criminal cases, school truants, or a number of other lines of data proposed here. The only public attempt at maintaining a registry of any definite portion of the population, besides a registration of the voters in cities, so far as I know, is the attempt in New York City to maintain a continuous registry of the school children, which effort is described in "The Survey" of February 17, 1912. In order to keep the general registry up to date, it will be necessary to keep some track of the movements of the people. This could be done with some degree of success by requiring reports from real estate and rental agencies and by keeping track of new buildings through the building department, but the population would have to be checked over periodically in order to make the necessary corrections, but this is nothing more than is being done separately now, by the school census takers, the assessors, the election commissioners, and the makers of city directories, so that this plan really involves nothing more than the proper systematizing of agencies already in existence in most cities. I do not believe that any scheme which would seem to restrict the movements of the people, such as requiring them to get permits before moving, would be acceptable in the United States.

Scientific Social Action.

Next we come to the problem of how to bring all these activities up to a scientific standard. The only way to really measure the city's problems is to establish in the city a thorough system of sociological record keeping, a sort of permanent census bureau. Its set of records or books should show on its balance sheets the percentage of poverty, crime, disease and illiteracy in the city from year to year, the fluctuation in industry, the distribution of wealth, etc. Every family is as worthy of record as every lot is and every individual should be as carefully accounted for as every dollar is. If the entire population were indexed, it would be of great service to assessors, school authorities and many others. If this were supplemented with an index to the industries of the city, the problem of unemployment could be measured accurately and our employment bureau could supply the needs of the market and protect the workers.

A statistician with an eye to the significance of facts could get information from the health department, school authorities, courts, elec-

tion officials, the water department, the police department, and in fact, from every branch of the city government that would have great bearing on the social welfare. There is no good reason why such a statistician should not control the records of all the city departments so far as the recording of sociological data is concerned, just as the comptroller controls the records in financial matters. Such a statistician could systematically test the efficiency of the different agencies in actually bettering social conditions. All you need to correct many evils is to turn on the light. The process of recording data and analyzing them would do that.

The board of public welfare of any city should be the agency for controlling and compiling the sociological records of the city. Kansas City has not achieved the ideal in this direction but a thorough survey of the charitable needs and resources of the city has been made, and careful studies of unemployment, of the social evil, of industrial accidents during a certain period, of all the recreational facilities and needs of a city, and of the housing conditions in the city, constitute some of the efforts toward accumulating sociological knowledge about the city.

Scientific Program Needed for Governmental Activities.

The characteristic of any scientific work is that the scientist predetermines the method of work and the results; therefore, the scientific social worker must work according to a predetermined social program to accomplish his deliberately selected social ends, and when he has made a program, he must have adequate authority to execute it. The supervision of private agencies makes it possible for the government to draft their activities into a general social program for the community. Then the control of all the government social agencies furnishes the additional factors necessary for the execution of really scientific social action.

After all has been said and done to secure proper plans and machinery for doing social work scientifically, the result cannot possibly be achieved through any means unless the people employed to carry on the work have the ability and training to do their work. They must be selected because of their qualifications. Mere considerations of political expediency cannot be given any weight. I believe that a civil service merit system of the right sort is the best agency for securing this class of workers. Such a system should be quite exacting in its standards of admission to the service so that it would be impossible for anybody to get in merely on account of his political connection, but the system ought to give the heads of the departments or the proper supervising boards great freedom to discharge any employes which are not satisfactory to them. If people should happen to be discharged for political reasons, which of course they ought not to be, there should at least be a guarantee that their successors must be qualified people. I have heard various complaints from heads of departments in different places where civil service rules prevailed, to the effect that it was impossible for

them to get rid of dead timber. In Kansas City the civil service rules are quite liberal in granting power to the heads of departments to discharge any employee for any reasonable cause. Some have been discharged from the department with which the writer is connected for the sole reason that they were inefficient and no difficulty has been experienced in making the discharge effective. I do not believe that the difficulties which have been pointed out in other places are an essential part of a strict merit system. Those who are accepted as social workers in any city department should not only be required to have some knowledge of social work, but they should be required to study continuously just as public school teachers are required to attend institutes and do a certain amount of continuous study in connection with their work.

The title of this address as given to me, was "Boards of Public Welfare and Good City Government." What relation have boards of public welfare, such as I have been describing, to the problem of good city government? I think, so far as they go, that they *constitute* good city government, a government which is actually good for something to the people who live under it. Such a government should elicit a greater degree of patriotism and enthusiasm on the part of the people than any which has been established as yet. Such a board, which is effective and free from objectionable politics, can only exist in the community where public sentiment is of a high order and is kept continuously informed.

Let me, in closing, define once more what I think should be implied in the term board of public welfare. It must be a social betterment agency, must be public, must be thoroughly comprehensive, and must be scientific.

Standards of Living and Labor

REPORT FOR THE COMMITTEE—A RETROSPECT AND A LOOK AHEAD.

Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D., St. Paul Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, Chairman.

One of the most obvious principles of charitable and social work is that distress should be not only relieved but prevented. So far as possible, we must cure misery by removing its causes. Among its causes some are primarily individual, as ignorance, drunkenness, and personal misfortune; others are primarily social, as saloons, bad housing, and low wages. The committee of which I have the honor to be chairman for the Conference year which ends tonight deals with one class of social causes, namely, those which have their root in industrial conditions. Recognizing the immense and the growing importance of the industrial factor as a creator of social distress, the National Conference four years ago added to its list of committees one on Occupational Standards, the title of which was after one year changed to the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor. The field assigned to the new committee was, of course, bafflingly large and discouragingly general, but from the beginning the leaders of the Conference, and especially the dominant spirits of the committee itself, outlined its province in a way that was fairly definite and limited. The business of the committee was to consider, and if possible to formulate, those standards of occupational life which are necessary to prevent social distress. In the words of the first chairman of the committee, its particular province was the "minimum requirements of well being." At the end of three years, the committee was able to present a tolerably comprehensive statement of those minimum requirements in the matters of wages, hours, safety and health, housing, term of working life, and

compensation, or insurance. This "platform of minimums" was offered to the Conference and to the public generally as a description of the very lowest conditions of industrial and residential existence that are consistent with individual and social welfare.

Our "Social Standards for Industry" does not pretend to be a complete statement of social or industrial justice. Such a statement would have been outside the scope of the committee. All that the committee was required to do, all that it tried to do, was to describe the *lowest* level of industrial conditions which will suffice to prevent that social distress which is the primary result of industrial causes. The committee points to this platform, and declares with confidence: "So long as any section of our laboring population works and lives in conditions below the standards that we have formulated, so long will you have social evils and social misery which can be traced specifically to bad economic arrangements. On the other hand, when these standards have been universally reduced to practice, the amount of social distress which can be specifically or primarily assigned to industrial causes will become insignificant and negligible." The members of the committee believe that they have given to the Conference a practical and reliable criterion whereby economically caused misery may be distinguished from that due to other causes, whether individual or social. They believe that they have furnished to all social workers and social reformers, to all organizations that aim at social betterment, and to all seekers after social justice a definite, comprehensive, and practical indication of the most urgent evils to be removed, and the most immediate objects to be striven for. They believe that they have provided the whole American people with valuable suggestions toward answering intelligently the questions: "Why have we so much social discontent in this land of opportunity? Why have we so much social distress in this land of plenty?" Some of us, at least, believe that our "platform of minimums" teaches incidentally the much needed lesson that right living does not consist in luxurious living. For it does imply that the standards which it sets up are not so low as to be unreasonable. To proclaim, if only by implication, that reasonable living is possible on this

moderate plane, should be of no small service to a people that expends so much thought and energy in the pursuit of indefinitely increasing material goods and enjoyments. This practical materialism is false. The attainment of its aims by the majority of the American people would be disastrous to the national welfare, physical, mental, and moral.

Challenge Goes Unaccepted.

The members of the committee have never cherished the opinion that their platform of standards would be immediately accepted by all sections of the population. They did, however, in the words of their chairman of last year, Mr. Lovejoy, "eagerly challenge the denial of any point presented." Their challenge has not been seriously or formally accepted by any person anywhere. No intelligent student of social conditions has come forward to deny that all workers are entitled to a living wage, that eight hours ought to be the maximum work day for women and minors, that the manufacture and sale of poisonous articles for which substitutes are available should be prohibited, that every family has a right to a safe and sanitary home, that there is a minimum age below which no minor should be permitted to become a wage earner, and a maximum age beyond which the wage earner should find himself economically independent of daily labor, or that all the workers should be adequately insured against accidents, disease, old age, and unemployment.

Indeed, a gratifying advance has already been made toward the realization of these humane standards. Legislation relating to child labor, safety and sanitation, a shorter work day for women, workmen's compensation and insurance, and a minimum wage has become widespread, fairly rapid, and continuous. Since the beginning of the present year, several states have either enacted for the first time or strengthened their compensation laws, and a few have passed measures in the interest of child workers and of safety in work places, for the reporting and prevention of industrial accidents and diseases, and for the establishment of one day's rest in seven. Most significant of all, five states have enacted compulsory minimum wage laws. I call the minimum wage the most signifi-

cant of all the legislative achievements of the present year for two reasons: first, because it introduces a new principle into American labor legislation; and, second, because it is the most fundamental and far reaching of all enactments for the protection of working people. All the other planks in our platform of minimums have, in principle and to some degree, been recognized as legitimate subjects of state intervention in industry. Wages, however, have until quite recently been regarded as something too sacred to be touched by the profane hand of the legislator. Now that this superstition has been overthrown in states as far apart as California and Massachusetts, the enactment of adequate, compulsory, and universal minimum wage laws, for men as well as for women, is mostly a question of time and methods. Legislation for the establishment of decent minimum wages is fundamental and far reaching because it affects almost all the other standards and requisites of reasonable living and working conditions. If we had the proper minimum wage laws we should not need to worry much over such questions as housing, child labor, or the various forms of social insurance.

Rapid Development of Public Sentiment.

More encouraging even than the legislation of the past year has been the advance in public sentiment. A national political organization, the Progressive party, put the greater part of the substance of our program into its first national platform. Those of us who followed closely the fortunes of these "social welfare" planks in the presidential campaign of last fall were agreeably surprised to see that they met with no serious, direct attack from the speakers and writers of the other two political parties. Whatever may be the future of the party that adopted these welfare planks, we may all feel assured that the planks themselves will never be formally opposed by any political organization in America. Very few, I think, of the members of the committee which presented the platform of minimums to the Conference last year dared to hope that so many of its planks would so soon receive this measure of recognition and approbation.

Another significant political manifestation of the improve-

ment in public sentiment is seen in the three bills introduced in Congress respectively by Senators Chilton and Lewis, and Representative L'Engle. All three of these bills aimed at the establishment of a minimum wage scale for women through federal legislation. Yet all three of their sponsors are members of that political party which is supposed to set its face against any new extension of the legislative power of the federal government.

Even the employing class is showing some recognition of the main principles underlying our demand for certain minimum social standards for industry. Practically all the employers who were questioned on the matter by the O'Hara committee acknowledged the right of their employees to a decent livelihood, and their own obligation to safeguard that right. This is a welcome evidence of the beginning of a break with the old doctrine that labor is a commodity, and that through the higgling of the market the laborer will somehow get all that he deserves.

A final proof of the favorable change in public sentiment is the apparently quite general acceptance of the doctrine that the parasitic industry has no right to exist. In all the arguments that have been made against the legal minimum wage during the last winter, whether before legislative committees or in the press, it has never been seriously contended that an industry ought to be allowed to pay less than living wages rather than cease to do business. Practically all the negative arguments were based on the assumption that the minimum wage would prove injurious to the workers themselves. Surely this is a great gain. Once the public has definitely and consciously adopted the principle that an industry is not worth preserving which cannot accord to its workers decent conditions as regards wages, hours, and other conditions of employment, the universal establishment of humane standards has become inevitable.

The Battle Front of Industrial Progress.

So much for the recent past. What of the future? Having formulated a program of minimum standards which is reasonable, moderate, and destined to win a rapidly increasing meas-

ure of specific public approval, our committee is now confronted with the task of helping to translate these various standards and demands into reality. Up to the time of the Cleveland Conference, we had been dealing mainly with ideals. Now we have to busy ourselves with the eminently practical problems of methods, of the ways and means whereby those ideals may be soonest and most thoroughly realized in industry and in life. In preparing this year's program we have thought that emphasis ought to be placed upon the question of wages and the allied questions of compensation and insurance. We have been able to touch only a few of the most practical and pressing phases of these subjects. It will probably be many years before all the states of the Union will have passed satisfactory minimum wage laws, and satisfactory legislation for the protection of all the workers against accidents, trade diseases and unemployment. For several years to come our programs might profitably be devoted to these same topics. But they comprise only a part of our platform of minimums. The matters of hours, safety and health, housing, and term of the working life are and will continue to be vital and urgent. So much remains to be done under all of these heads that the committee will find difficulty in deciding which subjects are the most immediately important and fruitful. Let me in the few moments during which I shall still ask your attention lay especial emphasis upon a few of them.

The question of housing has scarcely been touched yet in America. While we are awaiting the establishment of a universal living wage which will enable the workers to provide for themselves decent dwellings, hundreds of thousands of them are housed in conditions that are a reproach to our Christianity and our civilization. Something must be done, and done soon, both by philanthropic agencies and by the state to remedy this situation. Decent houses must be built, and the money and credit must be provided whereby they can be built.

In the matter of hours of labor, certain abuses cry out for immediate abolition. While the twelve hour day affects only a small proportion of our laboring population, it inflicts upon them so much hardship, physically, mentally, and morally, and it is so utterly inexcusable from every point of view, that it is

worth the immediate attention of every organization that aims at industrial betterment. The establishment of an eight hour day for wage earning women and minors cannot be much longer delayed consistently with social health and welfare.

Under the head of term of working life, our platform of minimums has formulated certain standards and demands toward the realization of which there has as yet been accomplished practically nothing. No state has enacted comprehensive laws to exclude women from those employments for which they are physically or morally unfitted. Yet this evil involves the very gravest consequences to the workers themselves and to the race. Then, there are the phenomena of intermittent, casual, and seasonal employments, the alternation of rush periods and out of work periods, which bear so harshly upon such a large section of our laboring population. Nothing systematic and comprehensive has been done toward adjusting the relations between labor supply and labor demand in this class of industries. This is a problem quite distinct from that of unemployment insurance, for it refers to the prevention of unemployment that is unnecessary.

A Solution for the Immigration Question.

The question of immigration has an important bearing upon many of the conditions and standards of living and labor. Instead of restricting the number of persons coming to our shores through a literary test, the American people ought to consider seriously whether the same end could not be attained by a minimum wage law which would forbid any immigrant to work for less than a specified living wage until he had been in the country five years, and had become a naturalized citizen. This was the proposal elaborated and defended by Mr. Paul Kellogg at the Boston Conference two years ago. Professor Fairchild of Yale has advocated a revision of our immigration laws whereby no alien laborer would be admitted except by a contract which would specify among other conditions of employment the minimum wage to be received. The control of Congress over immigration is so far reaching that it ought to utilize the most effective methods of safeguarding humane standards of life and industry both among aliens and citizens.

Finally, there is the matter of vocational training which is so intimately bound up with the legal minimum wage. The movement toward this end is receiving such strong support from so many quarters that it must in the near future produce definite results. The committee on standards of living and labor should be able to assist this movement, and to accelerate its progress.

Such are a few of the more pressing specific problems which lie before our committee. In dealing with them the committee will, of course, continue to co-operate with those agencies that have taken one or other of these subjects for their particular province; such as the National Child Labor Committee, the National Consumers' League, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and many others. Our committees should enable all these organizations to keep in mind the interdependence which exists between their several objects and standards. It should act as a sort of clearing house for all the associations that are striving to put into effect one or more of the planks in our platform of minimums. Finally, it should by every means possible endeavor to convince the whole American people that until our platform of minimums is realized social conditions must remain in a hundred ways radically unsatisfactory.

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary National Consumers' League, New York City.

Five years ago, in Geneva, Switzerland, there was held, at the call of the Consumers' League of France, the first international conference of Consumers' Leagues,[1] at which the most important subjects discussed were the sweating system and minimum wage legislation in relation thereto. There were present delegates from the Consumers' Leagues of France, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States; and sympathizers from several other countries, including Italy, Spain, Russia, and England.

The most valuable contribution was that of the members of the

[1]September, 1908. A second international conference held in Antwerp, Belgium, September, 1913, resulted in the creation of a permanent international organization for which the preliminary work is being done by the Consumers' League of Belgium, of which the secretary is Mme. Belpaire, 11 Rue de Bom, Antwerp, Belgium.

English Anti-Sweating League, who insisted that it was the duty of everyone there present to go home and agitate for the creation of official minimum wage boards until such legislation should be successfully enforced throughout the civilized world. The American delegates accordingly recommended that this be made a part of the ten years' program of the National Consumers' League, which was done. The English delegates, leaving the Conference at the end of September, introduced their bill in Parliament in January, 1909, which was passed and signed by the King in time to take effect at New Year's, 1910.

Compared with the English speed of action our progress seems rather slow, particularly in view of events which intervened in the English coal industry. After the English people had established official wage boards in four very diverse trades, in different parts of the country, meaning to make deliberate experiments, the great English coal strike occurred. The miners came out of the mines and announced, as one man, that they would not go underground again until Parliament enacted a minimum wage boards law[2] and, besides, fixed one definite minimum below which no agreement might go, namely six shillings a day for a man, and two shillings a day for a boy. In sixteen days after Parliament became convinced that the miners really meant never to go underground until the King signed that bill—the King signed the bill. There was, however, this difference, that instead of six shillings, it gave a man five shillings sixpence and, instead of two shillings, it gave a boy one and sixpence as the minimum below which no one might be paid.

In this country a statute is only a trial draft until the Supreme Court of the United States has passed upon it. We have at this time seven states authorized to deal, through commissions, with wages, under such trial draft statutes, and no man can foretell when we shall have a law sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. The future attitude of the courts is a subject of the gravest anxiety to all men and women who are seriously interested in minimum wage legislation in this country.

Massachusetts, as usual, moved conservatively forward at the head of the procession of states in enacting an experimental industrial measure. There are now, in Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Oregon, commissions actively at work.[3] The members of the California and Colorado commissions are about to be nominated.

In this state (Washington) a commission has been appointed while this Conference has been in session, and the names of the commissioners have been made public today.

In the other states there is wide variety of action. Utah has dispensed with commissions and boards, and has established a flat rate minimum wage. For employing girls below this, at least two employers have, according to the newspapers, been prosecuted. It is unlawful for

[2]Called in England "Trade Boards."

[3]The powers of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission have since been extended to include minimum wage regulation for women and minors.

any regular employer of female workers in Utah to pay any woman less than the following schedule: for minors under the age of 18 years, not less than 75 cents per day; for adult learners and apprentices not less than 90 cents a day, provided that the learning period or apprenticeship shall not extend for more than one year; for adults who are experienced in the work they are employed to perform, not less than $1.25 per day. To pay less than the amounts scheduled is to commit a misdemeanor and incur a substantial penalty. The terms "regular" and "employer of labor" are not defined in the law. We are left to guess whether this includes household service; and whether, if so, any deduction may be made for board and lodging. Through the newspaper clipping bureau comes the item that, in Salt Lake City, two cash girls under 16 years of age were paid 58c a day instead of the prescribed amount of 75c. The employers are reported as consenting immediately to pay the legal wage, explaining that the disobedience to the law was the act of subordinates. No fine seems to have been imposed and no appeal taken. We do not know, therefore, how the court will interpret these various features of this unique law.

New York, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Missouri have provided for preliminary investigations through commissions such as that which made straight the way for the permanent minimum wage commission of Massachusetts. In two states it appears to be the intention to include the wages of men. When, in 1912, the voters of Ohio changed their constitution, the amendment which received the second largest popular vote provided that laws may be enacted regulating the hours of labor and establishing minimum wage rates, and "No other section of this Constitution shall be so construed as to conflict with this provision." That does not restrict to women the contemplated minimum wages or maximum hours.

The Ohio Industrial Welfare Commission, recently created, has been authorized by the legislature to enquire as to the wages of women in mercantile employment; and there is a humorous contrast between the sweeping powers conferred by the people upon the legislators, and the catlike caution with which the legislators have proceeded. They have specified that, in mercantile employments, employers may be required to answer certain prescribed questions which cover, fairly thoroughly, the hours and wages of women and girls, and the number under the age of 18 years. No authority is given, however, to check this information. The second commission authorized to go forward in a way indicating an intention to include men, is the able and efficient Factory Investigating Commission of New York State, whose thirty-two bills have been enacted by the present legislature, some of them extraordinarily radical for an Eastern state. This commission is authorized to enquire into wages in the state of New York and is including men's wages in its investigation.

The danger, of course, in all this wide variety of experimental legislation is, that some crudely drawn measure may be brought before the

courts, such that some court will not see its way clear to sustain the principle that underlies it. Whenever that happens, a nationwide movement, going forward as this one is now going forward, is checked. We have seen this in two most sinister examples. The old statute of 1887, prohibiting the manufacture of tobacco in tenement houses in New York City, was so crudely drawn that it is hard to see how any court could have sustained it at all points. Unhappily the New York Court of Appeals seized the opportunity to lay so sweeping an embargo upon legislation embodying the principle then involved, that the sweating system has been fastened upon New York City twenty-eight years in consequence of that ill-drawn decision affording an opportunity to a reactionary court.

In Illinois a similar situation existed for thirteen years, from 1895 to 1909. Because the Illinois eight hour law of 1893 was badly drawn, the Supreme Court of Illinois deprived all women of the benefit of any restriction upon working hours, until the Supreme Court of the United States had an opportunity, in 1908, to uphold the right of the State of Oregon to enact a ten hour law for women; then, a more modern court having been elected meanwhile in Illinois, the wage earning women obtained a similar measure of protection and the new state supreme court sustained it. But the women wage earners in the third manufacturing state in the Republic had, meanwhile, suffered unmeasured hardships for thirteen years.

We welcome, therefore, eagerly, so statesmanlike a measure as the preamble to the new statute of Washington: "The welfare of the State of Washington demands that women and minors be protected from conditions of labor which have a pernicious effect upon their health and morals. The State of Washington, therefore, exercising herein its police and sovereign power, declares that inadequate wages and unsanitary conditions of labor exert such pernicious effect."

It would be obviously difficult for any court boldly to lay down the proposition that it is for the welfare of Washington, or any other state, that women and minors should labor under conditions pernicious to their health and morals. But it is an excellent thing to have the right principle enunciated with unmistakable clearness in the preamble to this measure, and then to have the statutes of the other states drawn in the light of that principle.

Once for all, the old tradition is abandoned that the payroll is a trade secret. Henceforth it is a matter of the highest public importance, the gravest public concern. Henceforth employers of women and minors are gradually to wake from the dream that their business is theirs alone.

In view of the social value of the commissions present and prospective, it is grievous to have to point out a grave defect in our procedure to date. It is conspicuously less democratic than that of the countries from which we borrowed the idea, Australia and England. In Australia the whole body of legislation for the establishment of mini-

mum wages rests on the principle that no one knows so much about wages as the people who pay them and the people who have to live upon them; and that no disinterested third person can act with such wisdom as the elected representatives of these two classes most intimately concerned.

Under the Australian and English laws there are added to each "trade board" a small proportion of representatives of the rest of us, the purchasing public, who buy the goods and ultimately pay the cost. If the wages are insufficient we pay the cost. We sustain the human wreckage that sweated wages cause. If we do not do it in charity, we do it in self defense, caring, often too late, for those who lapse into ways of living that endanger the community. Or we pay in maintaining prisons, restraining those who have not been able to live upon their wages and have, in a thousand ways, attempted to avenge themselves upon society. Under all circumstances the rest of us pay the bills which industry escapes paying. We may pay justly in the beginning by constraining industry to hand on fair wages out of what we pay as fair prices; or we may do it perforce, later. The Australian and English people have adopted democratic ways of doing it; and in one state after another we have shown that that is not our way.

Here in Washington it is expressly stated in the laws, that no member of the commission may have been a member of an association of employers, or a member of a labor organization, within five years of appointment to the commission. The obvious aim of this provision is that the commission shall be disinterested. The commission may at its discretion call into conference persons representing the employers, and others representing the employes, the results of whose deliberations are to be at the service of the commission.

The closest approach that we seem to have made to the Australian degree of democracy is in the Minnesota statute, which provides that the commission may in its discretion establish in any occupation an advisory board, "provided that the selection of members representing employers and employes shall be, so far as practicable, through *election* by employers and employes respectively." That is as near as we have come to placing the responsibility of decision upon the people most closely concerned.

It is obvious that the framers of all these bills have had in mind the teaching of experience that, ultimately, the courts will decide how democratic we can be. We are accustomed to delegated power from legislatures to commissions. We are not habituated to binding decisions, having force of law, made by representatives of employers and employes.

Why is it that we alone restrict this legislation to women? As I read the preamble to the Washington statute, I ask myself: If it is contrary to the welfare of the state of Washington that women and minors should work under conditions prejudicial to their health and morals, can it be desirable that men should work under such conditions?

Is it not true that where women and minors work for wages at all, it is ultimately because their men bread-winners are insufficiently paid?

It has been, I am convinced, a misfortune on a national scale, that the discussion preceding the enactment of many of our new laws has turned upon the meanest consideration on which such a discussion could conceivably have been carried forward. What could possibly be more contemptible than the question: "What is the least sum on which an honest working girl can keep soul and body together and escape disgrace?" Surely it behooves us, in the future, to get our wage legislation upon as statesmanlike and as democratic a basis as that of Australia and England![4]

THE PROBLEM OF THE WORKER WHO IS UNABLE TO EARN THE LEGAL MINIMUM WAGE.

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The minimum wage is the climax of a long series of acts by which the state seeks to introduce standards governing conditions of employment. Legislation in regard to hours and conditions of shop has its natural outcome in laws controlling wages. Indeed, the wage situation, though the last to become the object of legislation, is of first importance with reference to the welfare of workers. Low standards in sanitation and long hours determine the condition of the shop, but low wages determine the kind of home. The minimum wage, therefore, is more far reaching in its social consequences than any labor legislation hitherto secured. It is related, on the one hand, to efforts for the improvement of industrial standards, and, on the other hand, to welfare legislation for the care of the defective and dependent classes of society. It is this double effect of minimum wage laws that makes them of all measures for social improvement the most promising.

In the discussion of the minimum wage employers have often opposed it because it would lead to new methods of employment. This was so in the investigation that was conducted in Oregon. But employers have to learn along with the rest of us that because new methods involve inconvenience they are not therefore undesirable. The minimum wage will lead to a reorganization of industry for the attainment of greater efficiency. It will tend to the elimination of the sweated industries by putting them in factories where labor laws can be enforced. It will mean in factory and shop a more rigid selection of employees, and probably unemployment for those who cannot meet the new standards. Those who are thrown out of employment will be redistributed to other

[4]A recommended draft for a minimum wage bill has been prepared, with comments, by the National Consumers' League. It is compiled from the laws of Massachusetts, Washington, California, Minnesota and the Ohio Constitution, and is intended to embody the best points of all. Application should be made to the office, 106 E. 19th Street, New York City.

industries, or they will train themselves for greater efficiency, or they will remain unemployed.

Good Wages and Efficiency.

It does not follow, however, that all workers who are now receiving less than the minimum wage will be forced out of employment when the minimum becomes law. In some cases the additional wage will come out of the pockets of employers, for greed is a constant factor to be met with in our various social problems. In the report of the Massachusetts commission there is a story of a little French Canadian woman who had been employed in a Boston department store for seventeen years, and was receiving only five dollars a week! In the case of a worker with experience it would be more economical to pay her a living wage, than to employ a person with less experience. Again, inefficiency, on account of which it is alleged that with a minimum wage some will be discharged, is not altogether a question of a quality of workers. Some establishments are conducted so as to weaken efficiency. That such is the case is revealed in the report of the Social Survey Committee of the Consumers' League of Oregon, where it is seen that some employers make a practice of dismissing highly paid employees, and discourage employees by reducing the rates on piece work, and by refusing to raise the wages of employees after they have given long years of service. Moreover, unsanitary conditions always make for inefficiency. The minimum wage will tend towards a better organization of the working force in respect to rewards for service, and to better observance of labor laws, because employers will find in the long run that it pays to bring conditions of labor up to a high standard; and all employees who are worth to the business a living wage, but hitherto have been underpaid, will be retained at the higher rates.

That such a raising of standards is possible without the dismissal of workers is proved by the fact that a large department store in the city of Portland, Oregon, anticipated the work of the Industrial Welfare Commission by the adoption of an $8.00 minimum and an eight hour day. These changes were made without any wholesale discharging of employees who were getting under $8.00; and, according to the testimony of the store managers, at a cost of thousands of dollars. To be sure, some factory superintendents have prophesied that the adoption of the minimum wage would have the opposite effect of lowering the standard: for example, they declared to members of the Portland Vice Commission that a minimum wage for women would lead to the discharge of all who were now getting below the minimum, and the employment in their place of Japs and Chinese. If such an expedient should be resorted to, it ought to have the wholesome effect of furthering the movement for a minimum wage for men and for alien immigrants.

The Unemployable Classes.

After making due allowance for all these considerations, however, and assuming that some wage earners would be forced out of employ-

ment, and that some would not be able to find work at the minimum rates, we are brought to consider what is by far the most important result of minimum wage legislation, viz., that it compels society squarely to face the problem of the unemployable classes. These people have always been known to social workers, and to charitable societies; but hitherto instead of their being clearly recognized as unemployable, time and effort has been spent in trying to adjust them to the industrial world. A study of the earnings of applicants for relief in several Boston charitable societies shows that 50 per cent. of them are earning less than $6.00. If some of these people are worth their living to the industries of the state of Massachusetts, under an enforced minimum wage, the state guarantees them their rights, just as a strong union would if they were members of one. If they cannot earn their living in industry, then it is high time that we should know it, and consider other means for the amelioration of their lot.

Before discussing the necessary provisions of a program for the relief of the unemployable, it is necessary that we should make some classification of them with reference to the causes of their inefficiency. Modern social studies give us definite categories in which each of the various groups of those who cannot earn the minimum wage may be placed. The following is an attempt to name these different groups:

1. People of normal capacities, especially young workers, and immigrants, who are inefficient because they are untrained, or inexperienced, or both.

2. People whose circumstances make for industrial inefficiency, as widows with children to support, and those who cannot find steady employment.

3. Those who are physically defective, because sick, crippled, or superannuated.

4. Those who are mentally defective, either of subnormal intelligence or feeble-minded.

5. Those who are morally defective, such moral defects being due to heredity, environment, or to causes that lie within the control of the individual. Within this class are especially the more unfortunate types of delinquents—drunkards, prostitutes, victims of drugs.

Bad Effects of Competition with Inefficients.

The foregoing are the classes who are unable to earn the legal minimum wage. Among them are to be found the poverty stricken, the weak, the halting members of human society. The task of society is to cure them of defects that cause them to fall below the standard, and where this is not possible to relieve them through public or private means of the necessity of competing in a game in which they are sure to lose. It is of the utmost necessity that they be removed from promiscuous rivalry with wage earners of normal capacities, for the reason that their presence among the latter makes for low standards. Economists are agreed that low priced labor tends to bring all labor to its

level. The problem of the industrially inefficient involves largely principles of relief for dependency, but the approach is made from the side of industry. If society is to set up industrial standards by law, it must bear the burden of those who cannot meet them. It must bear this burden in any case, whether or not the minimum wage is in force. Without the minimum wage society reaps the consequences of industrial unfitness in poverty, vice, and crime. With wage standards clearly recognized the burden of the unfit can be intelligently borne, with some prospect of relief from the causes of unfitness. The unemployables are of both sexes and of all ages, and individuals are often in more than one of the classes of the unfit. There are probably more unemployable men than women; and the problem is more fundamental in the case of men. Nevertheless the same sort of solution is to be found for men as for women. In the present discussion emphasis is placed upon the problem as it affects women, because thus far in the United States the minimum wage has been made to apply only to women.

By far the largest class of those who cannot earn a living wage are the boys and girls who enter industry by the thousands and tens of thousands as soon as they can get their employment certificates. They are what Mrs. Kelley has called the "educational steerage." It is not exact to call them "unemployable" or "inefficient." The faint suggestion of fault that lurks in these terms hardly applies to the children just out of the schools. The facts concerning their exodus from the schools are tragically brought home to teachers in the grades and settlement workers every day of their lives. These facts loom so ominous for the future citizenship of the country that even the educational authorities are now rapidly coming forward with programs for the reorganization of our school system, so as to make it prepare children for the industries into which they will inevitably go. The presence of adolescent boys and girls in industries for which they are unprepared means that in time they will add to the army of adult unskilled wage earners who lack both the knowledge and incentive for an efficient industrial life. The New York Vocational Survey states that there are no jobs in the city of New York which a boy or girl under sixteen years ought to take.

Those Who Need Education for Industrial Efficiency.

The classes of those who need education for industrial efficiency are as follows:

1. Boys and girls who must go to work at the age of 14.

2. Children who now leave school at the age of 14, though with proper incentives they could be induced to remain in school until the age of 16 or 17 years.

3. Mature workers over 18 years who lack opportunities for acquiring more skill in their trade or business.

4. Country boys who need agricultural training.

To these may be added:

5. Non-wage earning girls who need training in the arts associated with home making.

To meet the needs of these classes there should be established in every town and city of the nation compulsory continuation schools for full time or part time for children under 18, and voluntary evening continuation schools for maturer workers. Nine states of the Union have already authorized the appropriation of state funds for the aid of local industrial schools. Their object is to provide opportunities for study to boys and girls in trade, commerce, agriculture, and domestic pursuits corresponding to those that have been provided for students entering the professions. Perhaps the best system of industrial education in the world has been developed in Munich, Bavaria, by Dr. Kirchensteiner, whose ideal is to qualify all the youth of the city for some form of skilled employment, and to get the unskilled work done by women and old men. It is estimated that 90 per cent. of the population between the ages of 6 and 18 are to be found in schools of some kind, and the remaining 7 per cent. are to be accounted for by the fact that girls are allowed to cease attendance at 18. As it is, about 10,000 girls are in continuation schools, receiving instruction for three hours a week. Of these about 6500 are being instructed in domestic science, 2000 in commercial work, and 1000 in trades.

Until we approximate this standard of industrial training in every town and city of the nation, the exodus from the schools will continue and the army of the unskilled will increase. The industrially untrained child becomes the adult worker who is unable to earn the minimum wage. The problem is not only industrial: it is also moral. It is hazardous for youth to dissipate their energies through aimless drifting and to be without ambition. Young girls come into the office of the Oregon Child Labor Commission wanting work, but not knowing what sort of work they want or what they can do. In such a state of mind habits of idleness are acquired that undermine character, so that industrial inefficiency easily passes over into moral delinquency, both of which are causes of an inability to earn the minimum wage.

Service Private Enterprise Can Render.

Before the industrial schools are generally established there will be a field for private enterprise, such as that now conducted by some of the large department stores of the country. Many large concerns like Wanamaker's, Macy's, and Filene's maintain throughout the year courses in salesmanship under the charge of experts. Smaller stores use department managers as teachers, or avail themselves of traveling teachers such as those who are trained by the University of Wisconsin. In the opinion of Professor Neystrom, who conducts classes for the training of teachers of salesmanship, more time must be spent upon the study of economies in distribution. A large part of such economy depends upon the efficiency of salespeople, and in the training of them there is an advantage for business as well as for wage earners.

Class work in stores is an aid in the selection of apprentices, for in a week's time there are eliminated those who are not adapted to the work. When apprentices are chosen there will arise the problem of establishing for them minimum rates. The Oregon minimum wage law especially stipulates that the Industrial Welfare Commission shall have the power to fix rates for apprentices. This it will be possible to do through conferences that may be called in every industry employing women or minors. To these conferences employees have the right to send representatives. Conditions of apprenticeship vary so greatly in the different industries, in respect to the necessary period of training, and the amount of outlay required for dress and for other things, that the whole subject needs to be studied in a conference for each industry. Until such a detailed study can be made for the different industries of Oregon, the Industrial Welfare Commission has established the rate of $1 per day as a minimum for minors, i. e., for workers under 18. In trades where unions are strong apprenticeship has always been regulated, and wage boards or conferences can but assume the functions of a union for people who are not strong enough to protect themselves. Invaluable aid will be given in solving problems of apprenticeship through the establishment of part time continuation schools, employers being held responsible for attendance, or employment being conditioned upon attendance.

Industrial Education Will Furnish Relief from Inefficiency.

In regard to industrial education, conducted either by employers or by the state, it may finally be asked to what extent will it relieve society of the burden of those who cannot earn a living wage? In reply it may be said that so far as young workers of normal capacities are concerned it will largely solve the problem. It will draw out the latent capacities of youth, and lay the basis for a sound industrial citizenship. Of course, there are exigencies in the industrial world, such as inventions of machinery, and the reorganization of business methods, which are liable to displace men and women; but, even so, a vocational training that has a sufficiently broad foundation will tend to help workers to anticipate these exigencies, and will equip them with that power of readjustment to new circumstances that distinguishes the educated person from one who is not educated. In so doing it ought to reduce the amount of unemployment. Again, in so far as industrial education is made to include knowledge of industrial hygiene, it should ultimately reduce the amount of sickness and disease that now eats away the incomes and lessens the efficiency of working people. Furthermore, if with instruction in trade or commerce there is combined training in citizenship, the amount of delinquency should thereby be reduced. Civic and vocational training ought to obliterate the delinquency among children that is now caused by certain occupations into which society allows them to enter. There are, to be sure, many perplexing questions which will remain after industrial education is very generally established, but these do

not pertain to the inability of normal people to earn their living; and in conclusion we may say that when all children are trained for work that they want to do society will be relieved of that large class, the unskilled, immature workers, who under present conditions are unable to earn the legal minimum wage.

In considering inefficiency among wage earners of normal capacities there is involved not only the question of training but also that of the redistribution of workers so as to relieve congestion in some industries and increase the number of those in other employments. For example, as things now are, department store work, because of its superior social advantages, attracts more than its due proportion of wage earning young people; whereas domestic service, because of certain conditions prevailing, is not an attractive calling. It has been said that, if some girls are thrown out of employment as a result of the minimum wage, there will be room for them in domestic service. The possibility of such a readjustment leads us to consider conditions prevailing in this employment.

Domestic Service.

In the last twenty-five years there has been a reduction in the percentage of girls entering domestic service, though it still includes from 20 to 25 per cent. of all wage earning women above the age of fifteen. Moreover, there has been a perceptible lowering of the type of worker who seeks this employment. This is not less than we ought to expect when we consider that, whereas legal standards have been established for all other forms of women's work, domestic service alone remains unregulated, unstandardized. Some writers consider this form of work technically as a form of human slavery. The long hours, the monotony, the loneliness and the social ostracism involved in the work all tend to drive ambitious, self-respecting girls away from domestic service. The result is that immigrant workers who remain in this occupation have a monopoly and can command high wages. Probably most domestics are treated with consideration, yet even well disposed mistresses cannot prevent the application of higher standards to domestic service, any more than excellent masters could prevent the abolition of negro slavery. Both because of conditions of the work, and of the type of workers, domestic service furnishes six times more than its proportion of moral offenders among wage earning women. When society as a whole imposes on any occupation standards that require no particular moral or intellectual fitness, we may be sure that the workers in that occupation will not make great effort to exceed the requirements that are made of them.

There are signs, however, of improvement in this employment. In Portland, Oregon, a group of women have recently established a "Domestic Service Bureau," which aims to provide all self-respecting women who are in domestic service with a safe registry office, and to give them reasonable assurance of being properly housed, fed and paid in any position which may be secured for them; and, on the other hand,

this bureau seeks to provide a reliable source for securing competent and respectable employees to housewives. As a further step the bureau now plans to establish under an expert teacher a Domestic Service Training School which will give diplomas to its graduates and seek positions for them. This experiment, if successful, cannot pretend adequately to meet the need; it can only suggest what might be done on a larger scale if continuation schools were established with departments of domestic science. With standards of training thus raised the badge of servility which now marks this employment should be removed. Domestic service, then, drawing a normal supply of workers, would relieve the oversupply in factory and shop, and tend generally to raise the standards of labor for working women.

Besides domestic service it is highly to be desired that other pursuits may be found to draw away workers where the oversupply of labor keeps wages low. Why could there not be developed in time American arts and crafts which would be remunerative? Why do we have to get our beautiful things from Syrians, Japanese, Armenians, Chinese, and other peoples, while many of these same foreigners, who, as children, go through our own schools, enter only sordid employments? The United States government has made it possible for thousands of Fillipino women to find a market for their handiwork. Indeed, the Fillipinos are better off educationally than many of the working people in the towns and cities of our own land. It is one of the problems in industrial education to develop handicrafts for American girls that will relieve the labor market of its present congestion in industries that are not congenial to womanly tastes.

Other Inefficients.

We come next to consider other classes of people who cannot earn the minimum wage. In the analysis that we made at the beginning of this discussion there remain to be considered four groups: those whose faculties are unimpaired, but whose circumstances lessen their economic efficiency; and the physical, mental, and moral defectives. We cannot here presume to present any detailed social program to meet the needs of these classes, for has not such a program been gradually evolving in the forty years of this National Conference? In this problem all our social wisdom concerning social improvement is brought to a focus. It is important to remember that we approach the classes of those below the standard from the industrial point of view. We draw a line above which are all those who can earn a living wage and below which are those who cannot. Our program is through education or any other means to bring as many as possible above the line, and through prevention to decrease the numbers of those who are below the line. Below the line, however, some will remain; so that a comprehensive plan involves not only the stimulation of individuals to do as much as possible for themselves, but also custody, relief, insurance. It remains for us briefly to review the main facts about these classes, that have not thus far

been considered, and to outline principles for the treatment of them that have received general acceptance.

First, in respect to those whose economic efficiency is impaired by circumstances over which they have no control but who are physically and mentally sound. As typical of these I have mentioned widows with children to support, and those who cannot find steady employment. Poor widows with children are home makers who have been forced to become wage earners. This double responsibility makes for inefficiency at work and at home. Though such a mother might even be able to make a living wage for her family (an assumption which is not altogether sound), her children will not become industrially fit if they are neglected; hence we conclude that it is better social policy to aid such widows now through pensions than at some future time to support the children in delinquency.

Unemployed Women.

Unemployment among women presents a more difficult problem. Unemployment is a constant menace to women in industry. The Oregon Survey estimates that three-fourths of the wage earning women of Oregon have to face unemployment due to seasonal work. Irregularity in work impairs the faculties and reduces the income. In "The Living Wage of Women Workers," published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science, it is shown that from 5 to 7 per cent. of what would be the incomes of 400 wage earning women in the city of Boston is lost through unemployment. This would nibble off in an income of $9.00 per week amounts that otherwise might be spent for recreation. Unemployment that results from a lack of skill can be overcome, as we have seen, partly through industrial education; but that which is due to other causes, which are social and not individual, calls for new measures. These are to be found through public employment bureaus and labor exchanges for women. In Germany public bureaus have gained the confidence of employers to a far greater extent than they have in this country. Abroad a careful registry is kept of each individual, including history; and such a record becomes of inestimable service. In this country many of our public bureaus keep no detailed records at all. As an ultimate public measure the London Central Body for the Relief of the Unemployed opened work rooms for unemployed women, which up to April, 1910, had given work to 1666 women for varying periods of several weeks. Such means of relief are of questionable social value, though they are perhaps an improvement upon a condition of affairs where women must have work but cannot find it. Finally, irregular employment among married women in industry is due largely to the fact that their husbands are casually employed; hence if means could be discovered for reducing the amount of casual labor among male supporters of families, the problem of employment would be solved for their wives by relieving them of the necessity of working outside the home.

Reduction of Seasonal Labor.

In the question of unemployment more important than public measures is the necessity for such reorganization of industry as will reduce the irregularities of seasonal labor to a minimum. Consumers can help in this matter through a more general application of the "shop early" principle; employers can help by anticipating demands, and overcoming so far as possible the differences between busy and dull seasons; and employees can help themselves by the acquisition of skill in secondary employments to which they may turn when "laid off" from their primary occupation. If, for example, apprentices in dressmaking and millinery in dull seasons could turn their hands to some other employment, say domestic service, the hardship involved in learning the former trades would be very much lessened. Again, if during unemployment young workers could be directed into continuation trade schools, the tremendous waste of time and energy now attendant upon unemployment could be avoided.

Defectives.

The remaining classes of those who will be unable to earn the legal minimum wage are the physical, mental, and moral defectives.

The causes of physical defectiveness are old age, accidents, and disease. Against these wage earners can be protected only through forms of social insurance. With the recent meeting of the first American Conference on Social Insurance there is evidence that we are about to advocate for this country a program of insurance against physical maladies that will carry us as far as any European state has gone. Whether old age protection should be in the form of contributory insurance or of pensions, whether the state or the various industries should be made responsible for its administration—these and kindred questions need not here concern us; I am calling attention only to the fact that the principle of insurance against old age has been accepted elsewhere and will be among us. So far as accidents and diseases are due to industry, the principle of compensation for them is also generally recognized. In securing the extension of compensation laws to cover industrial diseases the first need seems to be to convince state boards of health that there are such things as trade diseases! Sickness that is not due to industrial causes requires the "socializing of medicine." In times of sickness the family of the wage earner depends upon charity, or they go to a quack doctor, or they go without treatment. A possible social protection against sickness is suggested in the custom of some colleges where for an annual fee of $3 or $4 each student, in case he is sick, is given a month's attendance free. Or, again, what might be done for every city of the land is seen in the provisions for the Panama Canal Zone, where there are public doctors but no private practicing physicians.

In case old age or injury does not result in total disability for earning a living, both the Massachusetts and the Oregon minimum wage laws make it possible for wage boards and conferences to fix special rates

and issue licenses for partially disabled people. Such a provision will be an encouragement to many who otherwise, under the operation of the law, would be thrown out of employment. On piece rates, such as picking over berries in a cannery, the matter would adjust itself; only time rates would have to be adjusted for these classes.

Finally, employment for the aged and injured would be made easier if there were a better distribution of workers between the skilled and unskilled trades. An instance in point are the "blind alley" trades which now demoralize the youth of our cities. We could just as well buy our papers of, and deliver our messages by old men, and have them run our errands. Industrial training and better organization of employments should gradually draw both boys and girls away from the more elementary jobs, and if we will have them done at all, it will then have to be by people who cannot do anything else.

Mental Defectives as Wage Earners.

Next, let us consider mental defectives from the point of view of their wage earning power. A large proportion of physical defectives can be restored to normal industrial life, but none of the mentally defective can be so restored. The promiscuous presence of the feeble-minded is a menace of which we have become aware with astonishing rapidity within the last five years. It is estimated that there are 60,000 feeble-minded women of child-bearing age in the United States and that only one-fourth of them are in institutions. To allow feeble-minded girls freely to move in the industrial world is to increase the army of prostitutes. Dr. Goddard estimates that 50 per cent. of these unfortunate creatures are mentally defective. Great harm is done by schools that make the feeble-minded merely presentable without removing them from the industrial field where they compete freely with normal persons. A question has been raised in this Conference as to the value of psychological clinics in the work of a juvenile court. The cost of such a clinic for ten years, or even for a longer time, would be justified, if one feeble-minded delinquent girl was detected who otherwise would be free to mingle in society. A program for the cure of mental defectives was outlined in a recent number of the "Survey" by Dr. H. H. Hart. Only the industrial features of such a program will here be mentioned. Authorities tell us that many of the feeble-minded can be made self supporting by manual labor, preferably out of doors. Some of those who have been trained in institutions to earn their living lose their capacity, if they are returned to homes where the regimen is not such as it should be. Weaving, woodwork, carving, needle work, farming, domestic service are some of the occupations for which the feeble-minded are trained. In England some have even been placed out in small business establishments, though always under official supervision. In the case of feeble-minded who are allowed to work outside there would be need for close co-operation between state boards for the care of mental defectives and minimum wage boards, in order that the conditions of labor for them

may be most carefully regulated. The paramount duty of society in respect to these unfortunates is to prevent their increase through segregation and sterilization, and through the removal of conditions, and the overcoming of habits of life that create them. But so long as we have them with us, and exclude them from industry, as we must, by wage standards, we should help them to earn as much as they can under conditions that will keep them happy.

Finally, moral defectiveness. The whole point of view of modern prison reform is to restore moral delinquents who are normally intelligent to industrial life, where they can rehabilitate themselves. Perhaps the most recent development in this direction is in the attitude towards the victims of prostitution and drunkards. In many of our cities prostitutes are still fined and turned back on the community to earn their fines; and the rock pile is the only place for drunks. Nevertheless, there is dawning a new vision, which is that of restoring these delinquents, who for a long time have been considered hopeless, to a condition of economic independence by means of detention homes and industrial training; and of keeping such as cannot be restored in permanent custody until they pass beyond the need of human help. Such is the method that is being used in the care of vagrants in Germany, Switzerland, and other European countries; and until we have a social order that will be unfavorable to the development of these people, firm and benevolent custody, with the hope of restoring many to normal industrial comradeship, is the only plan that a Christian community can conceivably adopt.

Summary: The Right to Live.

In conclusion let us sum up the principles that have been involved in all this discussion of those who cannot earn the minimum wage. The minimum wage by establishing industrial standards which not only the employer but also the employee must meet, causes us to face the question, What about the worker who cannot earn the minimum wage? The Spartans used to establish physical standards for infants by exposing them to the cold. Those who could not stand the climate died. Now we are adopting a Spartan principle in industry which has for its object the elevation of wage earners. This places upon us duties in respect to those who cannot meet the new standards of efficiency. The whole program for public and private relief for dependency is forced upon us with new significance. Unless we choose to be like the Spartans in meeting consequences of the minimum wage, we must supplement the principle of "the right to a living wage" with "the right to live if one cannot earn a living wage."

Of course, our ultimate hope is to prevent the creation of classes who cannot earn their own living. When we prevent industrial accidents and diseases; when we prevent the procreation of the feeble-minded; when we prevent the waste due to unemployment; when we prevent the exodus of unskilled youth into the labor market,—then we shall pro-

vide for those present exigencies of industrial life that may be brought under human control. Moreover, our hope should be so to improve the conditions of labor for male heads of families that the necessity for the employment of women outside the home should be removed, especially where such extra employment leads to the neglect of the family well being. One means for reducing the amount of employment of married women would be a minimum wage for men, based upon the needs of the family budget. If every male wage earner had a wage adequate for the needs of his family, women and children would be largely relieved of the necessity of working for the support of the family. A minimum wage for alien immigrants would prevent the exploitation of their labor at cheap rates, and might have the effect of reducing the number of unskilled immigrants to our shores. In respect to immigrants who are here the greatest immediate need is for their redistribution on to the land, and to centers where their labor is in demand.

Though our discussion has been largely devoted to a consideration of the needs of the weak and dependent members of society, let us remember that the minimum wage is not primarily for these people, but for workers of normal capacities whose opportunities are curtailed by forced competition with those who must sell their labor cheaply. The hope for human progress lies in the strength of the strong, provided that that strength be used for the high purposes of human existence. We protect the strong by eliminating the weak. The development of the thought of these Conferences of Charities and Correction can be seen in the inclusion of new principles. First, relief for dependency; then prevention of dependency; then selection of the most fit. The principle of selection is involved in the minimum wage. From the point of view of productiveness all men are not born equal, though all men are entitled to our consideration. The difference between a program for human improvement with or without standards of income is this: merely relieving poverty without wage standards is as if we all strained to lift the wheels of progress, but grew weary, and let them fall back in their old place; on the other hand, with wage standards, and with a definite program for the needs of those who cannot meet them, it is as if we jacked up the wheels and shoved the wagon out of the rut.

CHILD LABOR AND THE MINIMUM WAGE.

A. J. McKelway, Washington, D. C.; Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

Ten years ago, when this Conference met in Atlanta, perhaps the most notable address of the Conference, and the most far-reaching in its effects, was delivered by a Southern man, Edgar Gardner Murphy, on Child Labor. The address was so absolutely unanswerable that the prominent cotton manufacturer who had been chosen to reply con-

tented himself with discussing the genealogy of the cotton mill operatives of the south. It was this address that awakened the country to the conviction that child labor was a national peril. It laid the foundation for Mr. Murphy's effort the following year, in 1904, to organize the National Child Labor Committee, of which he was for several years a devoted member. The news has come to us, since we reached the Pacific Coast, of Mr. Murphy's death, following a long fight against increasing invalidism, in which he bravely and consciously faced death daily.

The National Child Labor Committee is therefore one of the numerous and lusty breed of children of this Conference; and we take it rather as a compliment than otherwise, that the child is so well able to speak for itself, the only special consideration of the subject, which formerly occupied so much of the time and attention of the Conference, has been relegated to the last fifteen minutes of a week's session, and then merely in its relation to a somewhat newer subject, the minimum wage.

The connection between child labor and low wages was noted as early as 1770 in England. An Essay on Trade published that year, naively comments thus on the twelve-hour day for children:

> Being constantly employed at least twelve hours a day, we hope the rising generation will be so habituated to constant employment that it would at length prove agreeable and entertaining to them. * * * From children thus trained up to constant labor, we may venture to hope the lowering of the price.

Child Labor a Cause of Low Wages.

The minimum wage is concerned with the individual. Child labor means family labor. In the home industries of New York City, in the homes which poverty has turned into miniature sweat-shops, the pittance which the children earn between the closing hour of school and midnight, enables the family to compete successfully with the individual worker in the regular factories and thus bring down his wages, while the employer saves rent, light, power and heat, reckless of the fact that from these so-called home-workshops the germs of every known infectious disease may be spread to the ignorant though not wholly innocent consumer.

But the wages of child workers in the great child employing industries are high enough to tempt the parents to send their children to work, while at the same time bringing down adult wages to the child's standard. Out of 32,409 workers whose actual wages per week were copied from the pay-rolls of southern cotton mills, only 1,444 earned from eight to nine dollars a week, and one of these was a boy and one a girl under twelve years of age. Fifty-four women out of 17,066 earned between eleven and twelve dollars a week and one of these was a girl under sixteen years of age, while 241 men out of 14,000 reached that standard of wages and one of these was a boy under sixteen. More than half of these operatives, earned less than five dollars a week and of

these 17,517, 7,825 were children under sixteen years of age. Out of 3,700 operatives earning less than two dollars a week, 1,000 were children under fourteen and 1,000 were adults over twenty-one.

We shall never reach a living wage for the individual worker in the child employing industries until child employment is everywhere prohibited by law.

Child labor also tends to ignorance and illiteracy and to increasing the army of unskilled, and therefore low-waged workers. Statistics recently collected from Guilford county, North Carolina, show for the largest cotton mill village of the county, widely self-advertised for its school facilities, 920 children of school age according to a recent school census, 354 children enrolled in school and an average daily attendance of 218, the percentage of enrollment being 38 and the percentage of attendance 23. Five cotton mill villages of the county give an average of thirty per cent. attendance of school children at school, while eleven rural districts of the county give an average enrollment of seventy-eight per cent. and an average attendance of fifty-four per cent. There are four rural high schools in the county, none in the mill districts.

The percentage of illiteracy among the children of the southern cotton mills is higher than that of any other portion of the population, native or foreign, white or black. With greater and greater demands for efficiency in industry, the illiterate worker tends to bring down the standard of living below the normal, not only for his own industry but for all others related to it through the laws of supply and demand in the labor market.

Should child labor laws precede or follow the establishment of a minimum wage? I read the other day a little volume by Scott Nearing, in which he argued that the widow's pension and the minimum wage should precede the enactment of child labor laws. I am willing to admit that the order is the logical one. But actually, child labor regulation has come first, and in the states with a low standard of child protection they have not begun even to discuss the mothers' pension or the minimum wage. The child, because of his helplessness and his promise, makes the first and strongest appeal. If we create a condition of hardship in some few instances by abolishing child labor, then we begin to consider the best method of correcting that. The discussions of this Conference for forty years are the proof that the little child leads the procession along the whole line of social progress.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION VERSUS INSURANCE AGAINST ACCIDENT.

James H. Gilbert, Professor of Economics, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

Any adequate survey of the existing machinery for compensating those injured in industry in the majority of the states shows how in-

adequate it is as a measure of accident relief. The cardinal fault of the common law as well as most statutory amendments is that liability is made to depend upon fault, and a suit at law is necessary to establish guilt and to determine the extent of resulting injury. Recent investigations like those of the Pittsburgh Survey show, however, that the percentage of accidents due to direct, deliberate, personal fault of anyone, either workman or employer, is almost negligible. By far the larger share are due to the unavoidable risk of the trade, and to make compensation depend on specific fault is to leave fully 400,000 injuries every year wholly uncompensated.

Only a system which affords a definite compensation in *all* cases except those affected by the willful misconduct of the workman, and that, too, by a process which is reasonably prompt and automatic, will satisfy the demand of social justice and meet the requirements of sound economic organization. Only by placing the burden where it belongs—on the industry—and compelling the employer to reserve a fund for relief of the injured workman and his family, can the true costs of production be met and the extra-hazardous trades escape the charge of being parasitic. The economist advocates the principle of compensation, not that an added burden shall be laid on the employer, but that, through him, those who consume the products of life-destroying occupations shall be made to pay the full cost.

English, German and Norwegian Systems.

With regard to the purpose in view and the principle to be applied there is practical unanimity of opinion. Authorities differ only with regard to the choice of method. In Europe where legislation affecting compensation has reached its highest development three systems are found in operation, the English system of simple compensation, the German plan of compulsory mutual insurance, and the Norwegian system of compulsory state insurance.

The English system, in operation since 1897 and greatly extended by the act of 1906, merely throws the responsibility for paying a specified scale of compensations on the employer, leaving him entirely free to choose the method by which the obligation is met. Every person injured during the course of employment, except through willful misconduct, is entitled to compensation. Perhaps the most admirable feature of the English system is that all questions growing out of dispute over compensations are settled by a mere process of arbitration. Experience shows that fully 98 per cent. of accidents requiring compensation are settled for without resort to litigation. In practice the liability created by the English compensation act is rarely assumed by the individual employer, but the risk is distributed through insurance in private companies.

A second type of accident relief, and in a sense the model for all similar legislation on the continent of Europe, is furnished by the German system of compulsory insurance against accident. The Imperial

system is compulsory in a double sense. All employees receiving less than 3,000 marks ($720) must be insured by the employer against accident and the full burden of the insurance must be borne by the employing class. The German system is compulsory in a second sense—the method is prescribed. Every employer is compelled to provide such insurance by becoming a member of a voluntary association for insurance purposes. These associations of employers, called *Berufs-genossenschaften*, collect premiums from employers and assume the obligation of paying compensation. These mutual companies early adopted the practice of increasing the rate on any establishment which, during the year, showed an unusually high percentage of industrial accidents. This has proved in practice to be a very effective method of accident prevention. The chief difference between the German and English systems is that, under the former, employers are compelled to distribute the risk in a particular way—in a manner prescribed by law which happens to be the method of mutual insurance.

A third system of accomplishing the same result by slightly different means is found in Norway. The Norwegian system applies to an extended list of dangerous trades in which employees and foremen must be insured against accident. The benefits provided by the Norwegian system are similar to those of Germany, the chief point of difference being that in Norway the insurance is state rather than mutual, managed rather than supervised by the government. Employers are left no option with regard to method. They are compelled to pay premiums to the state insurance department and a fund is created, in the custody of the government, out of which compensations are paid to the victims of industrial accident. Furthermore the insurance is guaranteed by the state. If the fund contributed by employers is insufficient to meet the requirement, the shortage is made good from the general funds. Other European systems differ in detail but all conform more or less closely to one of the three types described above.

Difficulties in Applying European Experience.

American students of social problems have long recognized the expediency of following the European example, but so far our experience with the principle of compensation has been confined to a limited field. Before this new type of social legislation finds general favor two rather distinct objections must be overcome. In the first place the principle must be introduced by state legislation, and even those who recognize the justice of compensation, fear that the added responsibility will place their employers at a disadvantage with those in neighboring states that still cling to employers' liability. There is good reason to believe that fears in this direction are greatly exaggerated if not altogether unfounded. Compensation means more to the injured employee. It is doubtful whether the burden on the employing class will be increased in corresponding degree. Compensation according to a well defined schedule and for all cases except those involving willful misconduct of the

workman, saves the waste of endless litigation and the cost of numerous court trials for employer as well as men. So far as the American states are concerned any disadvantage due to the early adoption of compensation acts promises to be only temporary. The movement, once introduced, will spread to all sections of the country. Indeed there is much encouragement in the recent action of American commonwealths. The example of Massachusetts and New York has already been followed by a score of other states, and that, too, while the constitutionality of the whole scheme was in doubt. Once the legal question has been decided in favor of compensation, it is not too much to expect that the movement will become general.

This last statement, however, suggests a second obstacle which has delayed the passage of compensation acts—the legal barriers presented by state and federal constitutions. To be efficacious, uniform and equitable, such laws must be compulsory. All employers must be required to accept the increased obligation of paying compensations regardless of fault. It was feared from the outset that the forced assignment of property to compensate accidents for which employer's negligence was in no way responsible would be regarded by the court as appropriation of property without due process. It was only hoped by the more sanguine advocates of compensation that the courts might be induced to uphold such acts under a liberal interpretation of the police power, particularly when they were made to include only extrahazardous trades. This intention is clearly seen in the New York law of 1910—the first application of the English principle in compulsory form. The compulsory feature of the act applied only to certain designated trades, as bridge building, construction of tall buildings, electrical construction and repair work, railway service, construction of subways or work done under compressed air—all of which employments were attended with unusual risk. Employers in enumerated occupations are compelled to pay a definite scale of compensations in all injuries except those due to willful misconduct of employee. It was hoped that the New York court would uphold compensation in this limited field as a new type of regulation for dangerous trades. In this, however, advocates of compensation were doomed to disappointment for the New York Court of Appeals in the case of Ives vs. South Buffalo Railway Company (201 N. Y. 271), rejected the act as unconstitutional. By imposing on the employer a liability without fault the system deprived him of property without due process. It could not be upheld under the police power because it did not aim to prevent evil or promote the health, morals and safety of employes. The act imposed no new duty with regard to added precautions for the safety of the men. Being remedial and not preventive it could not properly be classed as an exercise of the police power.

Summary of American Legislation.

The outcome of this first test of constitutionality had an important bearing on the laws subsequently passed by other states. With the

exception of Washington, where the act was signed by the governor ten days before the New York decision was handed down, other states have introduced the principle of compensation only in its optional, elective or voluntary form. The employer is not bound by the act unless he signify his willingness to accept its terms. To encourage acceptance of the compensation scheme the legal liability of the employer is greatly increased in case he fail to elect. The ordinary method of increasing liability is to modify or set aside the common law defenses of assumption of risk, contributory negligence, etc.

It is an interesting fact that the majority of American states adopting compensation in any form have followed the English example and made no express provisions with regard to insurance. This was true of the compulsory act of New York state as well as the elective systems of California, Kansas, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Wisconsin. Only in Maryland, Massachusetts, Montana, Washington and Oregon is any form of insurance prescribed or described and in Washington alone is the prescribed system compulsory. In Massachusetts, for example, an employer accepting the arrangement for compensation has the option of placing his insurance with a private company approved by the state department or of becoming a member in the mutual insurance order called. "Massachusetts Employees Insurance Association."

The only example of compulsory state insurance against accident and the only compulsory plan that has been upheld by a commonwealth court is found in the state of Washington. Since this system represents the most advanced legislation that is to be found in the United States and since reference must be made to its provisions in discussing the merits of state insurance versus simple compensation a summary of its main features is here presented. The Washington act is compulsory so far as an extended list of hazardous trades is concerned. The designated occupations include factories where steam power is used, mines, railways, lumbering, etc. Employers engaged in such occupations are required to pay to the industrial insurance commissions premiums equal to a certain percentage of their payroll. Occupations are divided into forty-eight different classes and the rate graduated according to the comparative risk involved. Risk was only roughly ascertained at the outset, but resulting rates were subject to readjustment later. Funds created by the payment of premiums are held in trust by the Commission for the payment of prescribed compensations. In case the fund contributed by the employers of an industry is insufficient to meet the claims for compensation the state does not, as in Norway, obligate itself to make good the deficiency. The employer in whose establishment accidents have occurred is compelled to pay prescribed compensations until such time as he may recoup the amount from the insurance fund.

A definite scale of compensations is provided by the act for death and disability depending on nature of the injury and the number of dependents, and, except in the case of partial disability, not affected by

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Constitutional Questions.

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surance against accident like that of Norway. Shall we impose on the employer an added liability leaving him free to meet his obligation in his own way or shall we compel him to distribute the risk and guarantee the payment by a particular method?

Let it be understood at the outset that any temporary doubts as to constitutionality apply with equal weight to either system. Both plans impose on employers a liability without fault and hold them responsible for paying compensations directly or through an insurance company, state or private. Both are, therefore, open to the objection of taking property without due process. The bare fact that a compensation act was rejected in New York and the state insurance law upheld in Washington has no particular significance. The Washington court frankly admits that the underlying theory of the two plans is the same and concedes that the two court opinions are squarely opposed in principle. It would appear then that the compensation and state insurance are equally constitutional or equally unconstitutional at the discretion of the court. Choice between the two systems must therefore be determined by economic rather than legal considerations.

Criticism.

The relative merits of compensation and state insurance may be determined by applying three criteria of efficiency. In the first place an adequate system should operate, not only to compensate injuries, but to minimize the risk of employment. It should be preventive as well as remedial. In the second place the system should afford an adequate guarantee that the compensations and pensions provided by law will be paid in every case. Protection of the workman involves not only a definition of rights but must supply the machinery for enforcement. Finally the administration should be efficient and economical. The collection of premiums, the adjudication of claims and the keeping of records should be attended by the least possible economic waste.

Let us now apply the first of these tests. To afford compensation alone is not sufficient. Sums paid by employers to injured workmen do not compensate society for the loss of earning power resulting from death or disability. Compensation with the added feature of insurance in any form does not eliminate the loss; it merely distributes the burden so that it falls with less weight on those least able to bear it. From the standpoint of the community the paramount purpose should be to make the conditions of employment safe and minimize the financial burden resulting from accidents. Either compensation or insurance by increasing the burden on employers ought to compel greater attention to the methods of accident prevention. A compensation system of the English type makes the added burden direct and personal; an insurance system by distributing the burden more widely makes it more difficult for individual employers to appreciate its importance. In practice, however, the difference is not great. Compensation usually results in general insurance through private companies and employers are interested in accident pre-

Taxation of Cattle Bycau of Compensation.

In the case of the owners of compulsorily acquired cattle must fall on the community. In proportion as the public is ready to bear the purchase of this breed a market grows up which tends to raise the value of the animals. There is reason to believe that a more extensive system would be more economical to a people of limited means than one which would require a large capital sum to be raised at once. Under the Waitangi Commission has already been the power to increase the rate on any specified area by an extra 1d. for the purchase of pedigree bulls. Cattle of reasonable value are likely to be found with purchase a slight advantage in favour of the latter.

In the second place an objection arises which affect compulsory sales. This is the effect which the law will be apt to have on the individual employer who is left free to choose for himself whether he will or will not purchase. The object of the law will be apt to be defeated by the free will of the subject. Experience amply proves that a private individual cannot be induced to purchase cattle in which he has no interest. This is at least an unsatisfactory method, and one which cannot be relied on. It is not to be supposed that the owners of cattle will be willing to purchase the animals which they have to sell. The object of the law will be defeated by the free will of the subject. Experience amply proves that a private individual cannot be induced to purchase cattle in which he has no interest. This is at least an unsatisfactory method, and one which cannot be relied on. It is not to be supposed that the owners of cattle will be willing to purchase the animals which they have to sell.

pensions by the employer in whose works the casualties occurred, but this throws the liability back on the individual employers and may leave no guarantee of solvency. In respect to the second principle, then, if the system is one of real state insurance it affords greater security to possible claimants than simple compensation, which, so far as the law is concerned, recognizes only individual liability.

From the standpoint of sheer economy state insurance, rightly conducted, has a vast advantage. It is doubtful whether, in some businesses, the government can, with a given expenditure, secure the same result as a private company. Insurance is, however, well suited to government control and management. Operations are simple and easily reduced to a routine. It requires little capital. Better still when state insurance is made a monopoly it is possible to save the wastes involved in the competitive quests for business. It is estimated that commissions paid by liability companies to agents and brokers are equal to twenty-five or thirty per cent. of premiums collected. According to Miles H. Dawson, well known actuary, it costs in England approximately one shilling to get another shilling of compensation into the hands of an injured employee. Expenses very nearly equal the volume of business transacted measured in claims allowed. When we turn from a system which involves the use of competing companies to an all inclusive scheme of state insurance, or even mutual insurance by associated employers, we find the same result secured by a fraction of the same expenditure. In Norway, for example, cost of management did not exceed 16 per cent. of sums handled by the department; while in Germany mutual insurance is conducted at an expense of 12 per cent. Quite as favorable was the showing made by the Washington Commission since the adoption of the new act. During the first year aggregate expenses of the insurance office fell short of ten per cent. and for the first twenty-two months the costs of operation reached 15 per cent. of claims paid or provided for in continuing pensions.

Where continuing pensions are granted a possible defect of state insurance is that the burden on industry will increase rapidly as time goes on and the number of pensions resulting from death and disability tends to accumulate. This is not, however, an unavoidable fault of a state insurance system. A state insurance bureau may, as in Washington, segregate from current receipts a reserve sufficient to meet future obligations. If the rates now charged under the Washington plan are sufficient to meet the requirements of the law there is no reason why the premium charges should be raised in the future. Another charge made against state insurance is based on the liability that rates will be kept low for political reasons, too low to meet current obligations. The deficit incurred must be made good from the public treasury.

This last weakness brings to light the chief danger to which state insurance in common with other public enterprises is exposed. Opponents as well as some friends of state insurance, admit the fear that commissions in charge will yield to popular or political pressure and

resulting action will impair efficiency of management, give rise to wrong distribution of the burden, or otherwise invite the charge of favoritism. One of the chief dangers is that state officials, partly out of sympathy, partly out of a desire to win favor with the working class, will hesitate to scrutinize the claims of beneficiaries closely enough. A policy of this kind naturally invites the presentation of fraudulent demands. Corruption and graft are made possible.

The compensation and relief of industrial accidents presents a problem that is brim full of human interest and involves work which makes large demands on our sympathetic emotions. Without being uncharitable let me add a word of warning. In the long run justice between man and man demands the assumption of a hard-headed if not a hard-hearted attitude toward the claims of those who may seem needy and destitute. Only by recognizing the weakness of the government enterprise in the direction of too much charity can we realize the economy of state insurance while at the same time steering clear of what Sherman calls "the Scylla of Socialism on the one hand and the Charybdis of organized graft on the other."

INDEMNITY FOR TRADE DISEASE.

Prof. Walter G. Beach, University of Washington, Seattle.

The development of our industrial life in America has come with startling rapidity. Our interest in it has been centered largely upon its technical and productive side, and we have counted our expanding wealth with great satisfaction. But at last we have come to realize its human element. We are estimating not only our annual output of products, but also our annual human scrap-heap, our growing burden of the human cost of living. We are trying to interpret industry as not only, or mainly, a technical fact, but as a social fact. Slowly but surely we are understanding, what other countries have long since come to realize, that the management of industry passes over to society, along with its material product, a by-product of human wreckage, much of it unnecessary, and little of it in any way provided for.

Throughout the United States there has been a tardy but now definite awakening in regard to the large amount of suffering which is the result of industrial accident. The spectacle of European countries recognizing the social nature of industry, appreciating the inadequacy of the explanation of accident by individual negligence, and, through legislation providing for the insurance or compensation by industry of its injured workmen, has appealed to us in recent years as in startling contrast to our wasteful and criminally inadequate methods of employers' liability for accident. The change in the past few years in our attitude toward industrial accident is evidence of a new conscience and a new understanding. The passage in that short time of accident compensation laws by more than twenty states, is indication enough that

we do not longer need to argue the general principle of accident insurance. Workmen accept it; employers accept it; the general public accepts it. We recognize clearly the duty of industry to meet the suffering which comes through industrial accident, by some form of compensation or insurance, so that the unforeseen and individually unpreventable burden shall not fall upon the individual nor his family, but may be met as one of the costs of industry.

Demand for a Social Program.

The problem today in the field of accident insurance is not therefore one involving the principle itself, but is rather a question of determining the relative efficiency of different systems, and the adequacy of the amount of compensation granted.

Now the present day demand for social legislation is not for a collection of unrelated items of social interest. It constitutes in reality a program, a connected whole. It is based upon certain common facts and characteristics of the modern industrial life and upon a growing recognition of the inter-relation not only of the individual and his society, but of each type of social ill with every other and with the organization of industry and business in a universal struggle to find or make a living. As the scattered out-cropping of gold in nature suggests a common vein, so the facts of suffering through accident or sickness, or old-age, or unemployment, or inadequate housing or living conditions point to common roots and by that very fact call for a common attack and united policy of treatment.

It is evident therefore that the policy of insurance for industrial accidents constitutes for the United States only one step in a larger program of industrial progress. The next stage must be some type of sickness insurance. We have hardly, as yet, faced the fact that sickness brings unnecessary suffering in so far as its burden must be borne individually.

Now trade or occupational diseases belong both to the field of accident and of sickness. Such diseases bring together these two types of suffering and social waste. On the one hand any comprehension of the ground and reason for accident insurance must at once include the fact of disease contracted through industry along with the fact of accident. And the effort to give to a system of accident insurance any semblance of completeness or rationality cannot, in reason, avoid the inclusion of trade disease in the compensation system. On the other hand when we consider the larger phases first of the effect of occupation on health, and second of the general social causation of sickness, and how it is interknit with one condition after another of human suffering, we may rightly look upon insurance for trade disease as the first step from a reasonable accident policy to a recognition of the duty of society to meet and share, and so to lighten, the poverty and suffering which sickness brings. In this view we are looking ultimately to a complete system of sickness insurance.

Relation of Disease to Industry.

But in any case it is plain that the immediate step to take is to complete the system of accident insurance by including trade diseases in it, since the identity of these two types of industrial injury is so apparent and real.

We are at last coming to recognize in the United States that there is a large and increasing body of sickness which is the direct outgrowth of our expanding industrial processes. Workmen are in constant danger through inhaling of poisonous or irritating fumes or dust, through direct contact with certain materials used, and through conditions under which work is carried on. As a consequence health is injured, specific diseases are occasioned and frequent death results. How great a fact this is we do not definitely know. We do not yet require the reporting of such diseases, with the exception of some fifteen states which have only just now come to see the need of such information. Neither have we tried, except in a few notable instances, to study the social results of such diseases. But the rapid growth of our industrial life compels the realization that trade disease involves a greater and greater loss and destruction, and it also suggests the close relation of medicine and industry. Social medicine, with the doctor as a social worker, opens a field of tremendous possibilities for human progress.

Yet, though our knowledge of industrial diseases is far too limited, materials are beginning to accumulate. Fortunately we have the scientific and vigorous activity of the American Association for Labor Legislation which has become the leading organization looking to the inauguration of scientific legislation in the fulfillment of a constructive social program. Fortunately, also, the investigations of Dr. Andrews and Dr. Pratt in New York and Dr. Hamilton in Illinois not only point the way but are already amply sufficient to show the destructive nature particularly of the many industries which involve the handling of lead or the inhaling of fumes or dust from this metal, and of certain other of the industrial poisons, such as arsenic, mercury and wood alcohol. When it is remembered how many important industries are affected by these few materials of industry, the army of those workers who are weakened or destroyed through the great variety of industrial poisons, the breathing of irritating dusts from the cutting and grinding trades and the organic dusts of many other industries, stretches itself out before our imagination as a vast and serious train of suffering which we can no longer ignore. The Report of the Illinois Commission on Occupational Diseases remarks (p. 10): "An analysis of the industries of our commonwealth—and of the diseases which the medical profession often find associated with these industries, will bring before any intelligent and competent citizen the vastness of the problem." The more recent report of the New York Factory Investigating Commission says (p. 142):

> A large number of industries deal with harmful and poisonous materials which are liable to endanger the health and lives of the workers. The number of trades in which * * * dangerous elements are found is very

large; lead poisoning alone being incident to about 130 distinct trades. The effect of these elements upon the health of the workers is sometimes immediate and more often insidious, but nearly always harmful, and at times deadly.

Fortunately, too, the long experience of Europe, and the scientific knowledge there gathered is ours to appropriate at will. American and European conditions in some fields may and do have their special characteristics; but in the world of science there are no national boundaries. The discoveries and experience of one country serve for the enlightenment of all. There is certainly no ground to think that any process of human selection has rendered the American worker—usually a man of foreign birth— immune to the operation of disease conditions which would have affected him had he remained in Poland or Slavonia or Ireland or Scandinavia.

Preventive Measures Necessary.

We may agree then not only that trade diseases exist in the United States but that they are an important source of sickness and death. We may agree further that the state should adopt the policy of direct prevention wherever possible, by rules of cleanliness, of guarding against breathing of fumes and dust, by requiring the reporting of every case of industrial disease, and by periodical physical examinations of laborers by a physician. While our investigations are limited they are, after all, ample to show what must be done. It is not indeed necessary to gather all the cases and to taste and share all the suffering in a statistical disease bill of fare before we have ground for action. We do not need to know whether there are five hundred cases of death through lead poisoning or only three hundred in a given time and place. What we already know is that there are many such cases, occurring in a large variety of industries and leading to a large amount of family poverty and suffering. There is a type of caution which is both unscientific and inhuman.

But with the best that we may do in the way of direct regulation we have to recognize that, to quote the Illinois Commission, "the facts * * * leave no reason for doubt in respect to the reality of what has been called 'risk of trade'; by which is meant a danger to health which still exists after all known precautions have been taken by both employers and employees." What is to be done to meet this fact? If we look to Europe for suggestion we are met by a very definitely accepted point of view. Industrial accidents and industrial diseases are there part of one program. Article 547 of the Imperial Workman's Insurance Code of Germany (July, 1911) reads as follows: "By decision of the Federal Council the accident insurance can be extended to specified occupational diseases." And the British National Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906 provides that where a workman is disabled or suspended from employment or death results from one of the trade diseases mentioned in the Act—the list has since been extended to cover twenty-four different trade diseases—he or his dependants "shall be entitled to

compensation as if the disease or suspension were a personal injury by accident arising out of and in the course of that employment."

Article 67 of the Swiss act of 1912 contains this provision with reference to occupational diseases: "Every bodily injury suffered by an injured person is reckoned as an occupational accident if received in the course of work performed by him."

The suggestion of these acts is perfectly plain. Trade accident and trade disease are identical in their social and industrial character, and must receive the same treatment by society.

Industry Should Bear Cost of Disease.

If industry should bear the cost of accidental injuries because industry causes these injuries, then industry should bear the similar cost of disease and sickness where similarly it is the cause of that sickness. Hence the social insurance of trade diseases is no more than a reasonable effort to make the system of accident compensation more complete and adequate.

It is hard to view with patience the juggling over the question whether trade disease is accidental or not. The case of a workman in the Bremerton Navy Yard (quoted by Mr. Andrews) who was employed in the engine room of the St. Louis while lead paint was being used by another workman, resulting in his contracting a disease of the eyes due to lead poisoning, is an interesting illustration of the illogical position into which we are forced by our attempt to separate accident from industrial disease for purposes of insurance. The man received compensation under the Federal Act because the disease "was not a consequence of the work he was engaged upon," and was therefore an accident. But if one of the men beside him who was wielder of the paint brush had been poisoned, he would not have received compensation because the "lead poisoning was contracted in the regular course of his employment."

What is really involved in social insurance is the acceptance of the principle of industrial responsibility for industrially caused suffering. The fact that part of this suffering is of the nature of an accident and part is more or less an inevitable and necessary accompaniment of the industry is beside the mark. The matter which calls for action is the fact that industry is a social matter, too complex to be treated from the individual point of view; that bodily injury and sickness are a more or less regular part of its activity; that these result in individual and family poverty and suffering which are the direct outgrowth of the industrial system and quite beyond the control of the individual; and that as a consequence industry itself should bear this human cost. This it is that makes industry a social fact, and which therefore calls for a social remedy; and there is absolutely no difference between the case of accidental injury and the disease contracted through work, in regard to the validity of this argument.

Popular Acceptance of Principle.

Now it is fair to assume that the principle involved is thoroughly accepted in the United States today. Industrial insurance for accident is an established fact. Its adoption by more than twenty states in three years' time, with the indication of its being wrought into law in many other states in the near future, permits of no other interpretation. It is fair to assume further that whatever the halting character of legislation in general, the acceptance of the principle calls for a law that is adequate to the fulfillment of that principle; that no half-way and irrational application of the principle can satsfy the demands of the American people. It is fair to assume that each condition of human suffering which can be shown to be the direct outcome of its relation to industry must be accepted as equally coming under the principle of social insurance and equally entitled to compensation. In other words we are justified in holding that when we declare our acceptance of the principle of social insurance we mean what we say and are ready to take the steps necessary to give it adequate and complete expression. This involves, inevitably, insurance for trade diseases.

One of the arguments which has had the greatest weight in regard to accident insurance is its effect as a measure of prevention. The experience of Germany in particular is enlightening in this regard. The argument of prevention is equally convincing in reference to trade diseases. "No one," says Mr. Andrews, "will doubt, for example, that placing the financial cost of lead poisoning upon the lead industry will promote greater cleanliness in the lead trades. It will pay to clean up. * * * Unnecessary occupational diseases would then be *prevented*, and that is the real problem." Moreover, each feature of a program of insurance acts as a preventive measure not only upon the condition it particularly insures, but upon all the conditions of factory life, in so far as they show the interaction of these conditions of weakness upon each other. Accident, sickness, fatigue, old age, poor living, are closely related and affect each other. There can be no doubt that nothing will so direct the attention of the management of industry to all the working conditions of industry as the holding of it responsible for all types of suffering which result from it. Perhaps in no other way can it become strictly and thoroughly true that to keep its workmen in the fittest condition is economically advantageous.

Burden Should Be Borne by Industry.

In any case the identity of industrial accidents and industrial disease in relation to indemnity is apparent, and the principle which must be followed in determining that indemnity must be the same. It must be borne entirely by industry as a regular part of its costs, and should not, as in the German general sickness insurance, call for contribution from the worker. And, just as in accident insurance it is plain that our state systems provide as yet compensation which is pitifully inadequate (this is one of the most evident results of the first year's

operation of the insurance law in this state), so the demand that the insurance be large enough in amount really to meet the poverty which follows it, must be a part of the system as applied in trade disease.

As an illustration of the growing recognition of the similarity between these two kinds of industrial injury—accident and disease—attention may be called to the compensation bill now before the legislature of Ontario, which, after determining conditions for accident compensation, provides as follows: "Where a workman suffers from an industrial disease and is thereby disabled from earning full wages at the work at which he was employed, or his death is caused by an industrial disease—the workman or his descendants shall be entitled to compensation as if the disease were a personal injury by accident and the disablement were the happening of the accident."

The Kern Bill.

More suggestive and of even greater importance to the United States is the Kern bill now before the Congress of the United States, which aims to provide a more adequate system of compensation for the employees of the Federal Government. It is entitled, "A Bill to provide compensation for employees of the United States, suffering injuries or occupational diseases in the course of their employment"; and the first section contains the declaration that "the United States shall pay compensation for the disability or death of an employee resulting from a personal injury sustained in the course of his employment, and for the disability, death, or suspension from work of an employee resulting from occupational disease contracted in the course of his employment." This measure as a whole is most excellently drawn up and may well serve as a model for states to follow in adding to accident insurance an indemnity for trade diseases.

We are justified in concluding that the whole purpose of indemnity for trade diseases is to prevent waste. It is a *preventive* measure above everything else, and is a part of that evident present movement of society to conserve its human as well as its material resources. Wherever industry can directly prevent industrial disease, it is its business to do so, in the interest of humanity. Society must not only specify by regulation what should be done for this purpose, but must also use the indirect method of prevention by placing upon industry the burden of indemnity as a motive to use all possible care. And where disease itself cannot be entirely prevented, indemnity is imperatively called for in order to prevent the worst consequences of disease—that is, family poverty and suffering.

A policy of trade disease indemnity, as part of a program of social insurance, demands that industry shall be judged primarily by its service to society. It involves not only—highly important as this is—justice to the injured or sick workman, but a fundamental change in the conception of the relation of industry to the nation. It is an assertion once for all that, in Ruskin's phrase, "Work is for life, not life for work."

COMPENSATION FOR INDUSTRIAL DISEASES.

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Industrial diseases, with special reference to the subject of statutory compensation for wage earners employed in dangerous trades, have been defined as, "Morbid results of occupational activity traceable to specific causes of labor conditions, and followed by more or less incapacity for work." The subject of statutory compensation for the pecuniary consequences of industrial or occupational diseases has only within very recent years attracted the attention of governments, employers, wage earners, and social workers interested in the problems of social justice and practical solutions of the labor question. The fundamental principle of compensation for industrial diseases, at least in its application to English-speaking countries, was laid down in the British Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906. It has properly been observed by one of the leading commentators on the law of compensation for industrial diseases, Mr. E. T. H. Lawes, that "Once the principle was admitted that workmen should be compensated by their employers for injuries by accident arising out of, and in the course of, their employment, it appeared only consistent that injuries or incapacity caused by disease due to the employment should also be included." The act of 1906, therefore, was the natural outcome of the previous act of 1897, but it was readily apparent to those who framed the new legislation that so far-reaching a doctrine should, at the outset, be made applicable to only a comparatively small number of, but thoroughly well defined, industrial diseases strictly within the generally accepted sense of the term. The legal history of the distinction between accidents and diseases, whether general or with specific reference to occupations, is a most interesting one, but not strictly pertinent to the present discussion. The principle has been accepted that for statutory purposes it is best to separately schedule such diseases as are evidently the immediate result of industrial activity, and the onset of which can be determined with reasonable accuracy upon the basis of an established state of facts. Since neither of the terms, "disease" or "accident," admits of a very precise definition, both being in fact more or less inclusive of each other, it is obviously necessary, or at least for practical reasons advisable, to schedule separately the diseases for which, as a matter of social justice, the workman suffering therefrom, as made evident by incapacity for work, should be compensated in much the same, or identically the same, manner as for industrial accidents. Influenced, no doubt, by these considerations, the British act of 1906 scheduled only six industrial diseases, but the necessary power was given to the Home Secretary to add to this number by special orders and, without additional legislation, eighteen diseases have subsequently been added to the original six as scheduled in the act of 1906. Many of these twenty-four diseases are obscure afflictions,

but they are strictly industrial or occupational diseases, and as pointed out by Lawes, "included not so much upon the point of view of the number of people who are likely to suffer from them, as from their being so specific to the employment that injury by the employment can be established in individual cases."

The diseases scheduled under the act of 1906, and by subsequent orders of the Secretary of State, together with a description of the processes in connection with which the disease or injury occurs, is given in detail below:

Description of Industrial Diseases or Injuries, and Description of Processes, for Which Compensation Can Be Claimed Under the British Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906.

1. *Anthrax.*	Handling of wool, hair, bristles, hides and skins.
2. *Lead poisoning* or its sequelæ.	Any process involving the use of lead or its preparations or compounds, or handling of lead or its preparations or compounds.
3. *Mercury poisoning* or its sequelæ.	Any process involving the use of mercury or its preparations or compounds.
4. *Phosphorus poisoning* or its sequelæ.	Any process involving the use of phosphorus or its preparations or compounds.
5. *Arsenic poisoning* or its sequelæ.	Any process involving the use of arsenic or its preparations or compounds, or handling of arsenic or its preparations or compounds.
6. *Ankylostomiasis.*	Mining.
7. *Poisoning by nitro- and amido-derivatives of benzene* (dinitro-benzol, anilin and others) or its sequelæ.	Any process involving the use of nitro- or amido-derivatives of benzene or its preparations or compounds.
8. *Poisoning by carbon bi-sulphide* or its sequelæ.	Any process involving the use of carbon bi-sulphide or its preparations or compounds.
9. *Poisoning by nitrous fumes or* its sequelæ.	Any process in which nitrous fumes are evolved.
10. *Poisoning by nickel carbonyl* or its sequelæ.	Any process in which nickel carbonyl gas is evolved.
11. *Poisoning by Gonioma Kammassi* (African boxwood) or its sequelæ.	Any process in the manufacture of articles from Gonioma Kammassi (African boxwood).

12. *Chrome ulceration* or its sequelæ.	Any process involving the use of chromic acid or bichromate of ammonium potassium, or codium, or their preparations.
13. *Eczematous ulceration* of the skin produced by dust or liquids, or ulceration of the mucous membrane of the nose or mouth produced by dust.	
14. *Epitheliomatous cancer* or ulceration of the skin, or the corneal surface of the eye, due to pitch, tar or tarry compounds.	Handling or use of pitch, tar, or tarry compounds.
15. *Scrotal opithelioma* (chimney-sweeps' cancer).	Chimney sweeping.
16. *Nystasmus.*	Mining.
17. *Glanders.*	Care of any equine animal suffering from glanders; handling the carcass of such animal.
18. *Compressed-air* illness or its sequelæ.	Any process carried on in compressed air.
19. *Subcutaneous cellulitis* of the *hand* (beat hand).	Mining.
20. *Subcutaneous cellulitis* over the *patella* (miners' beat knee).	
21. *Acute bursitis* over the *elbow* (miners' beat elbow).	Mining.
22. *Inflammation of the synovial lining of the wrist-joint* and tendon sheaths.	Mining.
23. *Cataract in glassworkers.*	Process in the manufacture of glass involving exposure to the glare of molten glass.
24. Telegraphists' cramp.	

Subsequent to the enactment of the law of 1906 a Departmental Committee was appointed for the purpose of considering requests for additional diseases for which compensation should be made, and as the result of this investigation sixteen more diseases were added to the list, by order dated May 22, 1907, and two more diseases were added by a further order, dated December 2, 1908. The original six diseases for which compensation was allowed were:

1. Anthrax.
2. Lead poisoning or its sequelæ.
3. Mercury poisoning or its sequelæ.
4. Phosphorus poisoning or its sequelæ.
5. Arsenic poisoning or its sequelæ.
6. Ankylostomiasis.

The report of the Departmental Committee made to the Rt. Hon. Herbert J. Gladstone, M. P., Secretary of State for the Home Department, is dated May 15, 1907. The Committee held forty-one sittings and heard one hundred and fifty-nine witnesses, ninety-two of whom belonged to the medical profession, the others being either employers or employees. The Committee visited many factories and works of various kinds in order to view the processes alleged to give rise to industrial diseases. The report constitutes the most notable contribution in the English language to the subject of industrial diseases, and the principles of inquiry laid down by the Committee are admirably adapted to corresponding investigations in the United States. It may be stated in this connection that the three fundamental principles applicable to the inquiry were defined by the Committee as (1) whether the disease or form of injury proposed for consideration was outside the category of accidents and diseases already covered by the act; (2) whether it incapacitated for work for a period of more than one week, which is the minimum period for which compensation is payable under the act; and (3) whether it was so specific to the employment that the causation of the disease or injury by the employment could be established in individual cases.

The report itself first considers forms of poisoning, including 14 sections, as follows:

Forms of Industrial Poisoning.

1. Nitro- and Amido-derivatives of Benzene (Dinitrobenzol, Anilin and others).
2. Carbon bisulphide.
3. Naphtha.
4. Carbonic Oxide.
5. Nitrous Fumes.
6. Arseniuretted Hydrogen.
7. Sulphuretted Hydrogen.
8. Sodium Cyanide and other Cyanogen Compounds.
9. Nickel Carbonyl.
10. Potassium Chlorate.
11. Handling Lead and Arsenic Compounds.
12. "Brassfounders' Ague."
13. Brass Poisoning.
14. African Boxwood.

The second subdivision has reference to industrial diseases of the skin, etc., including six sub-sections, as follows:

Industrial Diseases of the Skin.

15. Chrome Ulceration.
16. Other forms of Ulceration and Erosion of the Skin.
17. Chrysoidine Poisoning.
18. Pitch Ulceration.
19. Chimney-sweeps' Cancer.
20. Mange.

The third subdivision has reference to industrial diseases of the eyes, including four sub-sections, as follows:

Industrial Diseases of the Eyes.

21. Nystagmus.
22. Bottlemakers' Cataract.
23. Injury to the Eyes from Repeated Impact of Fragments of Metal.
24. Injury to the Eyes from Electric Welding.

The fourth subdivision has reference to industrial diseases of the respiratory system, including four sub-sections, as follows:

Industrial Diseases of the Respiratory System.

25. Bronchitis.
26. "Slag Cough."
27. Pneumonia.
28. Phthisis and Pulmonary Fibrosis.

Finally, the Committee considered eight miscellaneous industrial diseases or affections more or less related to industrial activity, as follows:

Miscellaneous Industrial Diseases.

29. Glanders.
30. "Grease" (a form of blood-poisoning).
31. Compressed Air Illness.
33. Neurosis due to Vibration.
34. Dining-car Attendants' Diseases.
35. Anaemia among Photographic Workers.
36. Diseases among Night-soil Men.

The practical importance of the application of the principle of compensation for industrial diseases to British wage-earners is best emphasized in the statistical returns of the Home Office for the year 1911. Compensation was paid during that year in 33 fatal cases of industrial diseases to the amount of £4,703 ($22,887), and in 5,737 disablement cases to the amount of £82,959 ($403,720). These figures compare as regard fatal cases with 36 in 1910, and 33 in 1909; and as regard dis-

ablement cases with 4,438 in 1910, and 3,313 in 1909. Of the disablement cases 1,407 were continued from the previous year and involved an average charge of £28 9s during the year ($136). The corresponding figures for 1910 were 914 cases continued from the previous year, and the average charge was £28 3s ($137). It is pointed out in the official report that, "As in previous years the bulk of the disablement cases occurred in the mining industry and were due mainly to nystagmus, beat hand and beat knee. The figures for these afflictions again show large increases." There were also 554 cases due to lead poisoning, of which 148 were continued from the previous year. Of the new cases, and of the continued cases, 49 were in the engineering and metal groups; and 71 of the new cases and 56 of the continued cases were in the china and earthenware industry. Returns were not obtained for the house painting industry, but 130 certificates for disablement by lead poisoning were given by certifying surgeons to workmen employed in this occupation. The statistics for 1911, by industries, are in detail as follows:

Statistics of Compensation—United Kingdom, 1911.

Compensation for Industrial Diseases.

	Fatal Cases		Disablement Cases	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Factories:—				
Cotton	—	—	5	£ 21
Wool, Worsted, Shoddy	6	£ 727	24	203
Other textiles	1	60	2	32
Wood	—	—	7	216
Metals (Extraction, etc.)	7	1,394	96	2,241
Engine and Ship Building	1	125	40	1,032
Other metal work	—	—	96	2,063
Paper and Printing	2	193	16	339
China and Earthenware	5	389	124	3,230
Miscellaneous	6	974	261	4,512
Total factories	28	£3,862	671	£13,889
Docks	1	207	5	95
Mines	1	24	5,026	68,017
Quarries	—	—	2	149
Constructional work	—	—	6	107
Railways:—				
Clerical Staff	—	—	1	46
Other Railway Servants	3	610	26	656
Total railways	3	610	27	702
Grand Total	33	£4,703	5,737	£82,959

I give also in tabular form the duration of compensation, exclusive of cases terminated by the payment of a lump sum, in which compensation was paid for industrial diseases during the year 1911, but only for all industries and employments combined, including 3,332 cases:

Duration of Compensation Paid on Account of Industrial Diseases. United Kingdom, 1911.

Duration	No. Cases	Per Cent.
Less than 2 weeks	91	2.7
2-3 weeks	751	22.5
3-4 weeks	587	17.6
4-13 weeks	1285	38.6
13-26 weeks	282	8.5
26 weeks and over	336	10.1

In addition to the foregoing there were a number of cases not terminated during 1911, the previous duration of which had been as follows:

Duration	No. Cases
Over 1 year but less than 2	489
Over 2 years but less than 3	241
Over 3 years but less than 4	104
4 years and over	20
	854

Application to American Conditions.

The British act has naturally attracted considerable attention in the United States and the subject is referred to in the memorial on occupational diseases addressed to the President of the United States by a special committee of the First National Conference on Industrial Diseases, held in Chicago on June 10, 1910. I quote from this memorial as follows:

The effective protection of industrial workers against the trade risk of ill-health and curtailed longevity is now recognized as being largely a question of legal and moral employers' and community responsibility. The principle of workmen's compensation for industrial accidents has, therefore, in certain foreign countries been applied to well defined industrial diseases. The British Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906 properly includes, among other diseases for which compensation is required to be paid, the following: anthrax, as resulting from the handling of infected wool, hair, hides, etc., lead poisoning, mercurial poisoning, phosphorus poisoning, and arsenical poisoning, or their sequelae, as resulting from industrial processes involving the use of these poisons or their preparations or compounds. The British Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906 also includes ankylostomiasis, or miner's anaemia, as an occupational disease of comparatively modern origin. The list of industrial diseases within the meaning of the act is gradually being increased as the direct effects of industrial processes on the health of the workers become more clearly

recognized and understood. There has been a natural hesitation on the part of the British Government to extend the act to include fibroid phthisis or industrial lung disease, brass founders' ague, and certain other diseases which are also unquestionably the result of occupational exposure, but their ultimate inclusion within the meaning of the act is only a question of time.

The table following exhibits the number of industrial diseases reported in the State of New York under section 58 of the labor law, for the year ending August 31, 1912: The number of known fatal cases is given in parentheses:

Industrial Diseases Reported in the State of New York During 12 *Months, Sept.*, 1911—*Aug.*, 1912.

Disease and Industry	Cases	
Lead Poisoning.		
Manufacturing:		
White lead	7	
White metal goods	—	
Smelting	2	(1)
Paints, inks and colors	2	
Electric batteries	*21	
Tinware	2	
Brass goods	—	
Wire and wire goods	3	
Electric cables	1	
Cut glass	1	
Linoleum	1	
Cigars (labeling)	1	
Printing	1	
Shipbuilding	1	
Painting (in shops, etc.)	22	(1)
Carriages, wagons, automobiles and cars	14	(1)
Agricultural implements	4	
Heating apparatus	1	
Pianos	1	
Architectural ironwork	1	
Theatrical scenery, signs, etc.	1	
Total	65	(2)
Building.		
House painting, etc.	51	(4)
Plumbing, etc.	3	(2)
Total	54	(6)
Other or indefinite	6	
Total—lead poisoning	125	(8)

*Includes 5 reported by employers as accidents.

Other Poisonings.

Disease and Industry	Cases	
Arsenic.		
Manufacture of colors	2	
Manufacture of paint	1	
Tanning of leather	1	
Total	4	
Mercury.		
Manufacture of rubber goods	1	(1)
Phosphorus.		
Manufacture of matches	1	(1)
Total other poisonings	6	(2)
Anthrax.		
Tanning of leather	**1	
Baggage handling (steamship)	1	
Manufacture of rugs	—	
Total	2	
Caisson Disease.		
Shafts and tunnels	***29	(1)
Grand Total	162	(11)

Comparative Frequency of Industrial Poisoning.

According to this table there were 162 cases of industrial diseases during the year, of which 11 were fatal. Excluding caisson disease, there were 133 cases of industrial poisoning, with 10 deaths, which, on the basis of estimated population, yields a general rate of occurrence of 14.0 per 1,000,000, and a fatality rate of 1.1. A comparison of the New York statistics with the corresponding data for other states and countries is at the present time of doubtful value. The statistics for the United Kingdom would seem to sustain the conclusion that either the returns for New York State are wanting in completeness or that industrial poisoning cases are relatively more frequent in the United Kingdom than in the State of New York. The actual industrial poisoning rates for the United Kingdom, for the year 1912, are, for fatal cases, 2.15, and for all cases, 20.12 per million of population.

Michigan, California and Washington.

As yet no state has adopted a compensation law including specifically a provision for the compensation of industrial diseases. The Michigan

**One case reported by employer as accident.

***Includes 3 cases for same person, and 2 in each of two others. Of the 29 cases, 18 were reported by employers as accidents.

compensation law of 1912, however, by inference would seem to do so, in that section 1 provides compensation for "personal injuries sustained in the course of the employment." It is held, at least by some of the employers and the casualty companies writing workmen's compensation insurance, that under a strict construction the act provides compensation for industrial diseases, particularly lead poisoning, which is of fairly common occurrence in that state.

The subject of occupational disease is referred to in the Fifteenth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of California, with reference to the act of 1911 requiring the reporting in that state of cases of lead, phosphorus, arsenical, or mercurial poisoning, and also of anthrax and compressed air illness. The medical practitioners receive fifty cents for each case reported, and the State Board of Health is required to transmit a copy of the practitioner's report to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1912, only ten cases of occupational diseases were reported, five of which resulted in death. It is pointed out in the report, however, that undoubtedly many physicians have failed to report the cases coming under their observation, but at the same time it is also a fact that there are only a small number of industries in the state in which the employees are particularly liable to contract these diseases.

The subject of compensation for occupational diseases is also discussed in the First Annual Report of the Industrial Insurance Department of the State of Washington, as follows:

> Owing to the fact that the English act provides compensation for workmen as a result of occupational disease, the matter has caused more or less discussion in connection with compensation legislation. The records of this Commission show that the industries of this state are comparatively free from occupational disease, as there has not been a single case reported in this year. There have been, however, cases reported as cedar poisoning, which is nothing more than a mild irritation of the skin or infection due to irritation by sawdust or small splinters; also one case reported lead poisoning due to handling babbit in connection with a linotype machine; one dermititis on knees, a result of creosote irritation; another case of acute dermititis on wrist and arms, due to action of Portland cement combined with sweating. These might be considered as coming under occupational disease, as they are not associated with any accident. These claims were all rejected as not coming under the law. It is evident that in such cases the claimant can not meet the test of fixing the precise moment of the "accident."

The foregoing extracts further emphasize the practical importance of a thorough study of the entire subject and the moral justice of compensation for industrial diseases in conformity to the same principles, facts and conditions that apply in the case of compensation for industrial accidents. The conclusion of the Industrial Insurance Department of the State of Washington, that claims for compensation on account of industrial diseases were properly rejected on the ground that the claimants could not meet the test of fixing the precise moment of the "accident," is not sustained by the experience of European coun-

tries, which, particularly in the case of England, as previously pointed out, have effectively provided such compensation in the case of specifically scheduled industrial diseases.

Necessity for Adequate Legislation.

The injustice of refusing to grant compensation for industrial diseases has been most ably presented by Mr. John B. Andrews, in an article contributed to the Survey under date of April 5, 1913. Mr. Andrews, who is the secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, properly points out the conspicuous failure of the Federal Compensation Act of 1906, to provide for the pecuniary need of wage-earners seriously injured in the course of their employment through industrial diseases which could neither be guarded against by them nor brought within the range of individual control. Mr. Andrews cites quite a number of individual cases from the official report by the Solicitor for the Department of Commerce and Labor, dealing with workmen's compensation cases, and which amply illustrate the gross injustice of non-compensation for industrial diseases under the present law. He cites a case of lead poisoning, in which the solicitor held that it could not be said that the lead-laden fumes were inhaled by accident, although even a lawyer would not assume that the fumes were inhaled by design. It is a wrongful interpretation of the doctrine of employers' liability to maintain, as the Solicitor did, that "the inhalation of such fumes was to have been expected and probably could not have been avoided," when as a matter of fact, any expert on the subject of lead poisoning would have testified to the contrary and brought forward evidence to prove that, by means of an effective method of ventilation or fume removal the incidence of lead poisoning could be very substantially reduced and practically eliminated. As long as this is not the case, it is a wrongful construction of the theory of the assumption of risk that the workman should bear the burden and that the government should be free from liability for the consequences.

Proposed Model Bill.

As a remedy for this deplorable state of affairs a model workmen's compensation bill was introduced into the Senate in behalf of the American Association for Labor Legislation, known as the Kern Bill (S. 738). This bill provides for more adequate compensation for industrial accidents, and also for equally adequate compensation for industrial diseases. As pointed out in the brief presented in connection with the bill, when it goes into effect, the United States will come much nearer to being a model employer, and will have at least one compensation law up to the standard set by England, Switzerland and Germany.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the Kern bill will become a law and that in connection therewith the doctrine of compensation for industrial diseases will become firmly established as a fundamental requirement of labor legislation throughout the United States. It is a

foregone conclusion that if the Kern Bill is enacted into law its provisions will be copied, with slight changes called for by local conditions, on the part of many states in which the general doctrine of workmen's compensation is in course of development, so that the burdens resulting from occupational diseases, which now fall frequently with crushing weight upon helpless workmen and their dependents, may properly be borne by the employers of labor, whether governmental, corporate or private as the case may be. It requires no further argument to sustain the conclusion, that while compensation for industrial diseases affects a relatively smaller number of men than compensation for industrial accidents, the principle itself applies equally to both classes of injuries, and it is simply a question of political and social justice that the pecuniary burdens resulting from these deplorable occurrences should not be borne by the employees.

Children

REPORT FOR THE COMMITTEE.

Rev. Brother Barnabas, Superintendent Lincoln Agricultural School, Lincolndale, New York, Chairman.

No one doubts that the normal child may be reared and trained best in the normal family home into which he was born. Likewise, no matter in what particular line of child care work we are engaged, none of us will be found to dispute the fact that, for the normal destitute and dependent child, the best place in which to lay the foundation for the physical, mental and moral structure which is to be such an important factor in his future upbringing and development, is the normal foster family home.

While these statements go unquestioned and all child workers willingly subscribe to the theory that the placing of the dependent child in a family home is to be preferred to institutional care, it should not be forgotten that placing-out work has its limitations. The fact should not be overlooked that, among the thousands of children brought to a condition of dependency by reason of the death, desertion, intemperance, indifference or incapacity of parents, there are many who cannot very well be placed out in the foster home.

As has been well said by Mr. Charles D. Hilles, president of the New York Juvenile Asylum, who has had wide experience in both placing-out and institutional work: "It is not difficult to dispose of the wholesome specimens, especially those of gentle breeding, and there are other less favored classes that do not meet with serious resistance, but there is a residuum of large proportions that requires patient study, medical treatment and careful cultivation. This last class comprises the children of warring and divorced parents, the truants, the

incorrigible, and those who, as a result of abuse and neglect, suffer with curvature of the spine, chronic eye and scalp diseases and needlessly impoverished constitutions.''

Function of the Institution.

To prepare such unfortunate and neglected children for normal family life, the intervention of the institution is needed. While, therefore, we may differ in our opinions as to what particular system of child-care may be designated the best, the most advantageous and the most efficient, all can and should unite in agreeing that, no matter what the system adopted, its development should be continuous and no effort or legitimate expense spared, in order that that child, the object of our solicitude, shall receive the maximum of good care, training and education. The object in view in all systems of child-care should be the same—the development of good, manly specimens capable of being quickly absorbed into the life of the community.

Unquestionably, therefore, all who have the best interests of the dependent child at heart will concede that, in child-care work, whether the form adopted contemplates sending the child to an institution or placing him in a family home, the basic principle which should underlie and govern all systems is that the methods employed should demonstrate fully their ability and efficiency to properly train and equip the dependent child to take his rightful place in society.

To make honest, self-supporting, self-respecting, God-fearing and law-abiding citizens of the American commonwealth should be the sole aim of every man and woman enlisting in child-care work. In the prosecution of their work, therefore, it should be their purpose to adopt the best, the most perfect as their standard and exert every effort to arrive at it. Upon the results accomplished alone should be based any test of the efficiency of the methods employed. Let it be thoroughly understood among us that any system which is unproductive in sending forth into the community, good, well-rounded specimens of youthful aspirants for American citizenship is not doing its full duty and should be discountenanced.

The child deprived by death or other circumstances of the

protection and guidance of his natural parents starts life with a severe handicap. Such a child, if left dependent, at once becomes a ward of the state. As he is a future citizen in the making, with wonderful possibilities for good or evil, rightfully does it become the bounden duty of the state to see to it that the best possible provision is made for his future disposition and welfare. In the performance of this duty, any policy of penuriousness which, in the disposition of the dependent child, would make such niggardly allowances as only to warrant giving the child the mere necessities of animal existence, should be avoided.

Penuriousness of New York.

Unfortunately to relate, however, even in these enlightened days, in the care of the dependent child there is a disposition in some parts of the country to pursue a system which cannot very well be designated otherwise than penurious. Even in our own great city of New York, we are wofully behind the times in the matter of adequate support of the dependent child. Apropos of this point let me quote from a report made by Mr. Hilles at one of our recent New York State Conferences of Charities and Correction: "The city of New York annually expends fifty dollars on each child in the public school; she annually expends fifteen dollars on the education of each child in institutions. She seems to say that if the preferred stock is worth one hundred, the common stock is worth only thirty. The duty of educating the children of the streets, to prevent their becoming perils to our civilization, is therefore very much neglected. Truly 'to him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath.'

"The same city makes an annual allowance of less than $120 for the care and maintenance of each child, an inadequate amount that must be supplemented by private charities before the plainest work is possible. Massachusetts spends two and one-half times as much on each child as New York does, and the average per capita in juvenile institutions of the north and west is double the allowance made by New York City. The children who are especially deserving of sympathy and aid are denied ordinary consideration; the great city makes their

hard lot, harder still. Do you know that the average American wage-earner of the class receiving less than one thousand dollars per annum spends ten per cent. more on each member of his family for the mere necessities of life than the city of New York expends on each abused or afflicted or abandoned child in one of her institutions?''

No matter how humble their origin, it cannot very well be gainsaid that every boy and girl should be given a chance equal to that of his more fortunate brothers and sisters to prepare himself properly for the battle of life. If it be conceded that, even when surrounded by the best of influences and care, the needs of the growing child are many, what adequate estimate may be made of the needs of the unfortunate and neglected child compelled through circumstances over which he has absolutely no control, to live in an environment where he has been surrounded by influences not at all conducive to his proper upbringing? The wants of such a child at once are apparent. Obviously, in such a case, is there urgent necessity for the intervention of some competent agency to help lift the child out of his abject surroundings and place him on a plane where he will have some opportunity to develop into upright manhood.

Reasonable Standard of Efficiency.

Every dependent child becoming a ward of the state has an inherent and inalienable right to be placed where he will have some prospect of receiving an education competent to equip him to earn a livelihood once he has been sent out upon his own responsibility. If, all other things being equal, and the child not defective, his discharge from state or private institutional care finds him incapable and unequipped to look properly after his own interests, then may it be assumed that, in his case at least, there is something radically wrong in the educational system adopted.

In every industry the workman finds it advantageous to adopt some model or pattern after which to fashion his work. Now, with respect to the education and training of the dependent child, it is conceded the best possible model, the most

efficient pattern after which to fashion our institutional work, is the normal child in the normal family home. The institution which in its daily routine more closely partakes of the normal home characteristics can best prepare the dependent child for the foster home and, eventually, for his own home. All this, however, necessarily implies that those charged with the responsibility of the work shall be men and women of prudence and intelligence, who realize and appreciate the fact that moral and religious training underlie good citizenship and who, finally, exemplify in their daily lives, the qualities and characteristics they endeavor to inculcate in their young charges.

In the normal family home the good father and mother appreciating fully the responsibilities entailed upon them by reason of parentage, usually are to be found faithfully striving to act dutifully. In the training of their children they recognize that they have a three-fold duty to perform—physical, mental and moral. Physical, because they wish to have their boys and girls become healthy and sound in body; mentally, because they recognize the necessity of education if their offspring are to succeed in life; morally, because they are most anxious to have their children safeguarded from evil, and without proper religious training, re-inforced by good example and influence at home, they are fully aware that such cannot very well be accomplished.

Even the most inexperienced worker is fully conversant with the causes which serve to bring about the disruption of the family home and compel the child's commitment to an institution. Intemperance, ignorance, shiftlessness, non-support, desertion, lack of employment, and sickness with their multitudinous variations differing only in their application to the particular family involved, are some of the chief causes of child dependency. The condition of the child, reared by good parents, suddenly thrown upon the charity of strangers just at the period when he stands most in need of parental guidance, is most distressing, but it is scarcely comparable to that of the poor abused and neglected waif—the plant gone to seed for lack of proper attention.

Value of Institution Experience.

Only such persons as are actually engaged in institutional work can appreciate the condition of the children of this class when presented for admission. To quote from an authority: "One of the most progressive of the New York orphanages has faithfully inquired into the extent of curvature of the spine, and the experiment discloses the fact that of eighty-five boys examined, fifty-nine have curvature. A leading Philadelphia institution, after an investigation of almost two years, finds more than fifty per cent. of its population backward in school—fourteen months behind the average normal child—merely because they were neglected in childhood and had become indifferent students. It is the experience of most New York institutions that, of the children offered, twenty-four per cent. have trachoma, and must be isolated, nine per cent. have scalp disease and sixty per cent. are victims of malnutrition."

How very few outside those daily engaged in institutional work and care of children, have the slghtest conception of the vast amount of work involved in the treatment of such cases? Surely it must be patent that the unfortunate child of such wretched physique cannot be treated as a normal, healthy favored child. In such cases, the institution first must tear down before it may hope to lay a foundation upon which to erect the educational superstructure; it must tear down the distorted idea of life, the rebellious attitude maintained toward society and its customs; it must uproot the peculiar belief typical in such cases that the world owes them a living and that it is squarely up to the public to provide it.

If the neglected child is received at an early age some good may be accomplished. Frequently, however, the neglected child is sent to the institution too late to enable those in charge to make any appreciable change or improvement in the habits early acquired. It is the children of this type we are sometimes unfortunately compelled to turn back upon society, the blame for their deficiencies being placed upon the institution when, very properly it should be put upon the shoulders of the incompetent, neglectful parents.

In the education of the dependent child every precaution must be exercised to make certain that the proper methods are adopted and that, in so far as practicable, the education shall be conducted along the lines usually obtaining in the normal family home. The three-fold responsibility should not be allowed to lapse once the child enters the institution. It must be assumed by the authorities of the institution receiving the child for, undoubtedly, the institution accepting the child by that very fact contracts toward it *in loco parentis.* Where an institution fails to recognize and assume the responsibilities of this parental relationship its work is bound to be of a negligible quality. As a result, the dependent child, having completed the allotted stay in the institution, almost invariably will be turned out into the world in an undeveloped state, unfitted to take his place in the community on a par with that of the normal child from the normal family home.

Importance of Individual Physical Defects.

In the proper education of the dependent child the first step requires that a thorough examination be made of his individual deficiencies and wants. Having discovered them, care should be exercised in devising methods for their treatment. Disabuse yourself of the idea that it is possible to devise some general method of treatment, and do not fall into the common error of trying to view children as a class and treating them accordingly. Experience teaches that you cannot arbitrarily adopt any set form of treatment and make it applicable to all children as a class. Usually, in the up-building process you will find that your first duty will be to tear down, before any real attempt may be made in the building-up of the child.

In studying the characteristics and make-up of the individual child it is essential that every effort should be made to ascertain the existing physical defects. To the presence of these physical defects not infrequently has it been found may be attributed largely the fact that the unfortunate child appears out of joint with his fellows and the world at large. Among the physical defects quite usually found upon examination of the child at his entrance into the institution, may be

mentioned: general debility, defective breathing, impaired eyesight, decayed teeth and a multitude of other ills whose presence a physician alone can discover.

To those who have had experience in institutional care of children it must be apparent that, before one may set about to rear the mental and moral superstructure, it is vitally important to lay a sound physical foundation. Those in charge of institutions, therefore, find that the pressing problem confronting them in the care of their wards is the physical upbuilding of the impoverished boy or girl. Most of us are familiar with the methods adopted for this purpose in the various institutions and, I think, we will all agree that the work is being conscentiously and well done. Some of us, however, are inclined to treat the matter from an economical standpoint alone, especially in the care of the teeth. We find it cheaper to have the aching tooth extracted in place of adopting the more humane and generous method of having it treated and saved. Perhaps this may strike some as a very trifling matter but it is not, for, in nature's process, a complete set of teeth was contemplated and it has been found that needless trouble has arisen simply because in the interest of a false economy the teeth were extracted.

What has been said of the care of the teeth applies with equal force to the measures adopted for the treatment of other physical defects. To my mind, it is infinitely better to spend a little more money in discovering the root of ills and having them properly remedied.

The Child's Institutional Surroundings.

Environment goes a great way toward making the child physically comfortable; a fact which should never be overlooked in the up-building process of the dependent child. Experience has served to convince me that we never may hope to attain the best results unless we strive to arrange things about the institutional plant so that they approximate closely the conditions usually obtaining in the normal family home. The type of building, to my way of thinking, is not the sole matter for consideration. In the care of the dependent child it is agreed that the small cottage is to be preferred to the

congregate type of building; yet, while the right type of building is of considerable importance in work of this nature, often have I seen the right sort of educational training conducted in buildings not comparable in comforts and appointments with the splendid cottages erected within recent years. After all, it is the spirit entering into and animating the work which counts most effectively.

In the prosecution of the work of an institution, every effort should be exerted to make conditions about the place attractive and comfortable. Don't keep the nice green lawns in front to have their velvety appearance commented upon by the passerby, while the poor child is relegated to a cheerless-looking rear yard where grass, trees and flowers are things unknown. Teach the children to make things comfortable for themselves and you will have done much to engender in them an ambition to make for themselves in after life, a home somewhat approaching that which you have provided.

In our system of physical education we should avoid giving too much prominence to such military drills as necessitate putting the boy into a squad and educating him to respond *instanter* to signals, whistles and bells. While military drills have their place and value, my experience teaches that to compel children to march to and from meals to the beat of the drum or the tune of the fife, never will teach them how to comport themselves properly at the family dinner table. Too much stress laid upon the enforcement of military regulations is entirely out of place in the curriculum of an institution for dependent children and can only result in wrongfully subduing the child's spirit and driving him into his shell.

If such restrictive measures are adopted we never will succeed in getting to know the real child. If our work is to be effective, we must draw the child to us and make him feel toward us just as the normal child in the normal family home feels toward his father and mother. If the system of training contemplates keeping the child at a distance and dealing with him through subordinates only, how is one ever to succeed in helping him to plan his future and guiding him in the choice of his life's vocation?

Even in the normal family home very few children have

well defined views of what shall constitute their life work. In the care of the dependent child, therefore, those who have been charged with his training, must endeavor through intimate, sympathetic contact and personal knowledge of his peculiar characteristics, to discover his traits and inclinations and to bring out the hidden qualities which, after all, go to make up the real, live child.

Vocational Preparation.

The mental, or intellectual, training of the dependent child resolves itself into a simple and definite proposition. It is readily understood that the dependent child will be obliged, early in life, to go out into the world to earn his livelihood. Consequently, every opportunity should be afforded to give him a complete and comprehensive elementary education. His schooling, because it must be brief, should be entirely practical and of a nature to minister to his wants. Especial care should be taken to see that he is given thorough instruction in the fundamentals; get him to master well the three "R's"; see to it that he can read and write intelligently and express himself competently and you will have done much to fit him for his lifework. The backward pupil merits special attention. Because it is found easier, do not put forth all your best efforts in the development of the particularly bright pupils —they will take care of themselves. Give the child a practical, working knowledge of his mother tongue, leave aside all the frills and fads and when he leaves your institution make certain that he can read, write and spell properly.

Industrial, or vocational, training should enter very prominently into the make-up of the institution's educational curriculum. As this subject will be made the topic of a special paper at this meeting, I shall refrain from entering into a discussion of any of its details.

Moral Training Is Vital.

In child-work, the influence of religion is of first importance if any lasting results are to be accomplished. If the dependent child is to amount to anything in after life he must leave the institution with a well-grounded religious or moral

training. "Just at present," says Dr. Reeder, "there is an awakening among educators concerning the absence of moral training in our public schools and efforts are making in different parts of the country to remedy this serious defect in our public educational system." Furthermore, the same writer says that "the religious instruction should be intelligent, positive and spiritual. The religious motive should function practically in the discipline of the institution, that is, it should be appealed to frequently in individual and personal issues that may arise."

Conscience is the right foundation for proper character building. Without the refining influence of religion, conscience cannot very well be made strong enough to sustain character. Hence the absolute necessity of having our dependent children taught well the principles and practices of their religion. If in your system of up-building religion is slighted the arch is incomplete, the keystone is wanting. In the upbuilding process, as has been well said by a competent authority, "religion must be mixed in, like the salt and yeast in the dough, with play, with intellectual, industrial, moral and economic training." Character is weak without conscience, yet conscience is but the result of religious training.

Did time permit, much more could be said on this most important aspect of the dependent child's education. Suffice it to say that no matter what the nature of our religious inclinations or affiliations, none of us will find any reluctance in fully agreeing with the statement that, for the perfection and rounding out of a well-developed Christian education, religious training is most important and should have its proper place in any institutional curriculum of education. To my way of thinking, the religious education of the dependent child cannot be neglected without subjecting the already severely handicapped child to other unnecessary hardships.

As a final word of exhortation on this point, let me most earnestly entreat the managers and workers in children's institutions and in other specialized forms of child-care, to see to it that while devoting so much time, money and painstaking care in an effort to fit the child for the rightful place he should occupy in the community, religious or moral train-

ing is not either altogether sidetracked or neglected in the scheme of education.

Such, briefly outlined, constitutes my doctrine of the education of the dependent child. The policies I have outlined are possible of execution and for some years have been carried on by me among the children entrusted to us at the Lincoln Agricultural School. I firmly believe it is possible to adopt them elsewhere. In the child's education our sole aim should be to elevate him to the standard of the normal child in the normal family home.

In all educational systems we must realize that the child we have in care eventually is to go forth into the big world prepared to measure strides with his more fortunate fellows; hence, the sooner we get him started in the right direction the easier and more satisfactory will our work become.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN INSTITUTIONS.

F. J. Sessions, Davenport, Iowa, Superintendent Soldiers' Orphans Home.

The call for vocational efficiency and the cry for vocational opportunity are nation wide. Both are born of educational waste. The commonwealths of Indiana, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Iowa, have made provisions for systems of industrial training more or less comprehensive, to be administered by state boards of education or special commissions. The state of Wisconsin has inaugurated a system of continuation schools for pre-vocational training that promises splendid results.

Yesterday the need of vocational training was grasped by the captains of industry. Just the day before the value of such training gripped the understanding of those who delight to serve. "Made in Germany," read of "every kindred and every tongue," has brought commerce into splendid team work with sociology for the promotion of industrial efficiency. There are now strong demands for remodeling school courses and the substitution therein of art for science in teaching. Revision and readjustment are going on, but not as rapidly as the public demands. The whole industrial world is urging haste to excel Germany vocationally.

It is forgotten that when American schoolmasters began advocating industrial drawing, domestic science, manual training, sloyd, and other handicraft features as foundations for vocational training in public schools they were assailed with sneering cries of "bread and butter courses," "fads" and "commercialism." Satisfaction with cultural

studies, leisure class education, had so long prevailed that any changes tending towards marketable training were decried. Then people had not looked over the shoulder of the German schoolmaster to see him fitting eager youngsters to gain and to hold the world's markets against inefficient competitors. Now while many have not seen him at work, all have seen the great industrial and commercial revolution he has wrought. All recognize that to compete with his boys and girls, others must go through laborious courses of training. Here native ability must bow to plodding worth.

The Institution Viewpoint.

The economic and social values of vocational training are enlarged tremendously when viewed through institutional perspective. Juvenile victims of dependency, delinquency, and deficiency, with the few exceptions covered by death and sudden misfortune, are the direct issue of parental incompetency. Frequently, two or all these undesirable estates are interlocked in a single individual. Bad environment accentuates the evils of these hereditaments. In its last analysis native environment is heredity. Most institution children need not only preparation for future efficiency, but they need preliminary discipline and education for the cultivation of subjectiveness and receptivity.

While there has been no success in establishing normal mentality for the feeble-minded, fair results have attended efforts to train them for useful work. Some of them, under lighter forms of the affliction, have been self sustaining while they remained subject to the stimulus of skilled teachers.

Some observers hold that were the feeble-minded of all degrees, from the idiot to the moron, gathered into institutions the labor of the higher grades would support all. No state, no community, has had the courage to attempt this, so no one is able to prove or disprove, absolutely, the claim. It probably would not test out affirmatively. One authority says "the majority of the mentally feeble, who are classed as morons, are not in institutional custody; these could be made practically self-supporting, but to gain control of them is a problem of such delicacy and difficulty that the establishment of this regime is only a dream indulged in by advanced sociologists." Certain it is, that the sociologist who dreams of this control is having visions of that which should materialize. At large, weak women are mercilessly preyed upon by vile men. Later, they become the special agents of sexual corruption and the progenitors of numerous degenerates, who are usually dependents, almost always deficients, and quite as often delinquents.

Dr. Clara Harrison Town, Director of Clinical Phychology, Lincoln, Illinois, State School and Colony for the Feeble-Minded says: "In my judgment no feeble-minded person, no matter how high the grade, or how expert the training, is capable of self support *without continued supervision*. On the other hand, with good training many are capable of earning their living in an institution. I feel very strongly that all

effort to fit these people for an independent life in the world is a grave mistake. I feel that it can only result in misfortune, in exploitation for themselves, and in the continued increase in number of our defective and criminal population."

Systems Now in Operation.

The day of propaganda for vocational training in institutions for juvenile delinquents is past and that of programs has opened fair. The importance of this training received full recognition when the name industrial school, generally displaced that of reformatory. Under change of policies the official disciplinarian, the dungeon, and the gloomy walls, three terrors that formerly were common to these institutions, have disappeared mostly. Better still, the schools generally have been moved into the open country; sympathetic instructors have displaced harsh or brutal keepers; and worthy purposes are planted in breasts that have known little save selfish motives.

There still remain some relics of old time mis-administration; institutions that are nothing but penal pens or farms, without appliances for vocational training, or which, having them, are so inefficiently officered that nothing of value is accomplished. Politics and penuriousness are responsible for these conditions.

In times when the home no longer presented opportunities for observing manufacturing processes; when the boy could not go to the shop with the father to learn the family occupation; when the factories were closed to all but a limited number of apprentices; when the state schools provided only for the education of doctors and lawyers; when the doors of the private technical schools opened only to those who could pay and the public schools dealt in learned learning only, about the likeliest opportunity for getting started in a trade was for boys of humble homes to become incorrigible or delinquent and gain apprenticeship in a state industrial school. Happily, there has been an awakening to the gravity of these conditions and trade foundations are to be laid in the public schools.

It is a revelation of the possible influence and efficacy of vocational training to find boys in industrial schools working successfully, eagerly, in groups or singly at various difficult trades; here are young fellows building houses in place of burglarizing them; shoeing horses in place of stealing them; firing boilers in place of barns, forging bolts in place of notes; cooking meals in place of begging them; grafting fruit trees in place of a living; smoking hams in place of pipes; dressing beeves as well as themselves; wiping lead joints in place of "swiping" them; and generally turning their thoughts from destructive to constructive pursuits. On first consideration, here would appear to be ample surety that every boy of normal mentality would be trained for successful life; here, the school, the vocational training class, the routine chores, and recreation can be correlated and made to contribute to full and symmetrical development. Here is no truancy; here are no distracting dissipations; here can

be impressed the joy and satisfaction of living clean, useful, regular lives. In this, as in many other undertakings, control is released before definite ends are accomplished. Many unfortunate youths are brought near to economic independence, then guidance and restraint are removed and years of careful training are lost. Many of the released ones revert to former types and settle into lives of inefficiency, possibly into criminality.

Common Errors in Present Schemes.

Institutions are not always to blame for this. There is too much pressure upon them to hurry out their product, regardless of its finish, that expenses may be reduced. There are, however, errors of method in some institutions that preclude success. From replies to a questionaire recently sent to many superintendents it is judged that the most common error is the one of mistaking manual for vocational training and especially in continuing simple motor activities beyond a time when there should be concentration of effort to fit for specific employment. A second mistake, not as readily noticeable but just as wasteful, is that of failing at the start to apply proper tests for ascertaining occupational fitness. There is no longer necessity for dulling a youth's zest and energy for training by giving him a turn at the bench, the lathe, the printer's case, the plow and the forge, to determine his aptness, any more than there is need of guessing at his mental capacity. Both quantity and quality of mentality can be gauged by the psycho-technologist. The clinical psychologist of the Illinois State School and Colony for Feeble-Minded has done some work in testing and classifying the children of the different schools under the State Board of Administration. The results have been so satisfactory, that it is now proposed to establish a general psychological clinic for institution children of the state. This is suggestive of a great service that might be undertaken by any group of institutions in co-operation.

Another mistake of institutions is that of training for impractical industries. In this class are those the products of which naturally have a limited or a falling demand; industries that are seasonal only, and others that are unnatural to the habitat of the individuals pursuing them. Any one of these conditions results in dissatisfaction and ultimate demoralization of the workers who are affected adversely thereby.

The possibilities of improving the citizenship of youthful delinquents through elemental or pre-vocational training in industrial schools are so great, that large investments so as to secure the best men and equipment are warranted.

In delinquent girls' institutions there should be different methods of treatment for those who are delinquent only and those who are deficient-delinquent. It is fairly well agreed that from one-third to one-half of all inmates of these institutions are of the latter class. These, who are doubly unfortunate, should be restrained throughout the entire child bearing age. They should be set to the routine institution tasks for

which they are best fitted and in which they will be most contented and happy. Any surplus of their labor should be employed to secure the best possible financial return to the institution.

In most institutions for wayward girls, the original woman's industry, that of home making, is the foundation for all industrial activity. This has special features covered by the terms, cooking, sewing, laundering, dressmaking, fancy needle work, basketry, weaving, nursing, floriculture, and gardening. It is not necessary to "split hairs" as to whether much of this is vocational or industrial in character; it is certainly occupational and valuable.

It is the almost unanimous testimony of the superintendents of institutions for these girls that training in domestic pursuits best provides for their future. Training that calls them into prominence vocationally is to be avoided. The temptations that come to women of public occupations are such as girls who have been delinquent are fortified least to withstand.

When either a girl or a boy is to be released from control the first consideration should be that of his future. It is not sufficient that he should be given a good domicile and a chance to work as directed by some one in authority over him. His employment should be that for which it has been determined by scientific tests he is adapted. If he has begun a trade the terms of his placement should include provisions for its continuation. No institution girl, no institution boy, should be forced to accept a cheap or a common vocation simply as a matter of convenience or economy to the state.

What Can Be Done with the Untrained Child.

Children untested vocationally, who must be placed out should go into farm homes. Rural environment is usually more wholesome than that of cities, towns, or villages. Farm work affords a variety of interests and presents many occasions that tend to cultivate both initiative and self reliance. The farm provides the foundation training for many of the world's most successful men and women. Farming affords more opportunities for testing out mental capacity and vocational bent than any other single occupation.

Unless placed and supervised by socially trained or experienced agents, children released from institutions are likely to discard the vocations for which they have had elementary training and take up with avocations that afford big pay for youth but wholly inadequate remuneration for adults; occupations that are not educative and leave many stunted and stranded vocationally at maturity.

The few institutions for deformed and crippled children provide vocational training that has enabled these fragments of humanity to increase the joys of life through the pleasures of productive labor; many who once were dependent now are able to maintain themselves wholly or partly by reason of the humane ministrations of these institutions. This is the bright side of the picture. The dark side is that there are

states in which no special provision is made save the almshouse for the shelter, let alone the training of crippled dependents. They are not a great social menace and, having no political influence, they are neglected shamefully to become beggars and confidence workers.

It is a principle of statecraft that the public shall do nothing for individuals that they can do for themselves or that other persons can be induced to do for them. Thus, in the matter of the training of the deaf and the blind it was years after private enterprise had proven the possibilities of their education that public duty towards them was recognized. Now the fingers of the blind are made to see and the eyes of the deaf to hear, in many publicly maintained institutions. The useful careers pursued by those who formerly groped in darkness or moped in silence, useless and unhappy, beggars or passive dependents, are splendid testimonials to the value of vocational training in institutions.

Vocational training in orphanages is more a theory than a practice. While there is much work done by inmates, most of it only by the greatest stretch of courtesy can be denominated vocational training. In the best institutions children are trained to industry, to regard labor as honorable, and to know that idleness leads to mischief, which in turn runs into criminal practices. Some boys are given manual training and opportunity to use tools and machines, especially those used in gardening and general agricultural pursuits. Girls learn sewing, cooking, and various other kinds of housework. In exceptional cases there are those who get sufficient training to insure self maintenance when they are released from control. While there is an absence of general statistics bearing on the subject, observers and students of institutions and of their reports conclude that the average age of orphanage children is less than ten years; that fifty per cent. are under nine years of age; eighty per cent. under twelve years; ninety per cent. under fourteen years; that the average age on admission to institutions is less than seven and one-half years, and that the average length of residence is less than two and one-third years. These facts well establish the futility of attempting vocational training of those to whom they appertain.

Scientific Attention Necessary for Future Success.

No combination of circumstances should absolve any institution from the obligation to provide for the vocational training of wards old enough and long enough in residence to be benefited thereby. Failure in this should mean forfeiture of charter rights to continue in the business of juggling children's futures. Better, however, than providing for vocational training in orphanages would be its synchronization with other social education in and through the good offices of carefully selected family homes.

There is great need in orphanages of psychologists to study each child, to determine his mental status, his reaction time, his temperament, and his vocational bent. Facts thus derived would facilitate the

placement of children with foster parents, who, understanding them, would encourage and influence them for best service and citizenship. American industrial expansion must soon halt to await the development of better industrial technique. When this "slow up" comes those who enter trades will be the select only.

It is not presumed that to any large degree institutions can give full vocational or trade training but it is certain that they are able to lay sound foundations for them. Superintendent Nibecker of Glen Mills, Pennsylvania, says, "The patience and time devoted to the instruction in every way make it possible for them (the inmates) to complete a vocational training which they would not have been considered competent to undertake at the beginning." Some of the institutions for dependent children and some of the placing out societies have read the signs of the times aright. Mr. Galen Merrill, superintendent of the Minnesota State Public School for Dependent Children, says, "Vocational training has not been introduced in this institution to any great extent. There is now a demand for a broadening of the policy to include better opportunities for such training. It is proposed to introduce such courses as will enable us to give children the training they need as a preparation for homes or employment." In conclusion he states that the legislature has provided the necessary funds for carrying out these plans.

It is too much to presume that every youth who is vocationally fitted for citizenship will fulfill the promise of his training. But certain it is that efficiency establishes probabilities of probity and success that are impossible to the vocationally unfit. Who will accept the responsibility of withholding from the institution children any chance to overcome their hereditary handicap? Equity demands that society shall provide for these unfortunates every possible opportunity to become the efficient citizens they might have been had they been born under favorable circumstances.

DISCUSSION OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN INSTITUTIONS.

Dr. Mary O'Brien Porter, Secretary Catholic Woman's League, Chicago, Illinois.

After listening to this splendid paper of Mr. Sessions I think we all feel that vocational training for the institutional child has a bright future, and that states having as yet no provision for this training will soon be brought into the limelight by the weight of public opinion. I feel very strongly in regard to the training of the mentally defective, especially the mentally defective girl. I believe that she, and the feeble-minded boy as well, should be trained for a useful, happy, but institutional life. We have in the mentally defective girl the potentially public woman of the future. Whether she be twenty-one years of age or more, she should not be sent forth from the protecting walls of the institution

to sin and be sinned against. The same may be said of the boy. We have in the mentally defective boy the potential thief or vagabond of the future. When sent forth from the protecting walls of the institution he will in all probability become a criminal and perpetuate the race of his own kind. I also feel very keenly on the subject of the training of the institutional girl. I believe she should be taught homemaking. Incidentally the girl who is not an institution girl should be taught the same thing.

There is a tendency in our institutions today to train the girls in one line. Before leaving Chicago I inquired into the after-institutional care of one or two girls I had in mind. I asked one lady how Annie was getting along. She said that Annie was doing pretty well but the only thing she could do was to iron; that she was a magnificent ironer and really worth all her wages just for doing up the shirtwaists. I received a similar complaint from another woman who said that her girl did the kitchen work, the cleaning and scrubbing beautifully, but in the chamber or dining room work she was absolutely worthless. Our institutions need trained teachers in all the branches in homemaking. These girls should be obliged to register and attend classes where they can receive scientific instruction in all the arts pertaining to homemaking. The work of the institution could be arranged in such way that it would amplify the instruction which she gets. There is no excuse now for any institution to send girls out who can simply iron or clean the kitchen.

Classification and Scientific Treatment Needed.

To my mind one of the greatest problems of today is the classification of children for institutional life. It is not an easy task, because the dependent child is frequently delinquent; and the delinquent is frequently feeble-minded. Deaf and blind children may belong to either class, and any of these may be mental defectives. The promiscuous classification of children handicaps very seriously the work of the institution and jeopardizes the future of the misplaced child. This is especially true where the dependent child is allowed to associate with the delinquent child. At best and with all precautions we shall have educational and occupational misfits. But it is this heterogeneous mass that I wish to emphasize. Children are placed in institutions with little medical supervision and practically no equipment for such supervision and care. In my own state the Board of Visitors of Cook County reports that out of thirty-three institutions caring for children only five are prepared to give adequate medical attention to the inmates. In a few institutions there was practically no attention given to ventilation or to the outdoor play that all children are entitled to enjoy. The question of history-taking was practically not thought of. Every delinquent child and practically every dependent child is a sick child and should be treated as such. Our large cities should follow the lead of Ohio, and establish psychopathic hospitals; and our towns should have psychopathic wards in the general hospitals where children could

be sent and detained for such a period as would insure their freedom from contagion, and for such a time as would be necessary to allow trained psychologists to arrange for a child's future in a scientific manner. Such institutions would not only redound to a child's future welfare, but would enrich science with a wealth of experience and literature.

I agree with Mr. Sessions that the adequate care of the moron is today a dream; but the scientific care of children who are committed to our care is a responsibility that should be pressed home. In the words of our president last evening, social duty demands organization, prevention, and research by the state, as well as care and protection. There is no field where the medical profession would welcome the privilege of research more gladly than in the care of the delinquent and institutional child.

THE NEED OF CHILD WELFARE WORK IN RURAL COMMUNITIES.

W. H. Slingerland, Ph. D., New York City; Special Agent Russell Sage Foundation.

Until recent years the study of social questions and the application of modern methods of philanthropy have been confined almost entirely to the cities. The welfare workers of America are just beginning to see that all matters of social and family uplift relate as truly to the rural as to the urban classes.

Professor Bailey, of Cornell University, says: "All great human problems are fundamentally the same, differing chiefly in their phases and symptoms. There is a city phase and a country phase of every great question. The city phase has been studied with much care and, therefore, we have come to think that social problems are city problems. But whatever vitally affects the city likewise in some degree affects the open country. One of the great needs of the time in social studies is that we treat the country phase of education, truancy, public health, pauperism, charities, and moral standards, as thoroughly as we are treating the city phase of them."

This one quotation, if accepted in its full meaning, is sufficient to prove "The Need of Child Welfare Work in Rural Communities." Yet it is true that until now the city has had nearly all the attention, while with equally important problems the country in social service matters has been neglected.

The city dweller is accustomed to think of the city as the hub, and the country as simply a thinly inhabited space through which transportation lines, as spokes, give access to regions beyond. In reality, as regards number of people, the urban hub is still the smaller part of the American wheel. According to the census of 1910, forty-six per cent. of the American people live in cities and towns of 2,500 inhabitants or

more, and fifty-four per cent. in rural districts, there being an actual majority of 6,725,500 farmer and village folk over their urban competitors for life, liberty and happiness.

One reason for the former neglect of rural welfare work is the greatness, combined with the vagueness of the task. Even now it is like a big mountain outlined through the mist. There have been a few natural growths of social service, indigenous to the soil, as it were, which have shown that rural communities and welfare work are not antagonistic or incompatible. There have been a few extensions of city agencies into country districts, with success beyond expectation. The vagueness is slowly passing away but the greatness of rural welfare problems looms larger every day.

Paper Based on Special Inquiry.

When I accepted the invitation of the committee to present a paper on this theme, a few brief queries were sent to a score of leading social workers in different states, to provide first-hand material with which to build. A few gave hearty and helpful replies, but to the majority of my correspondents it was a new field of inquiry, and there were no ready-made answers to my questions.

One question was: "Is there a real need of such work, and on what lines?" The answer of Supt. C. V. Williams, of the New Jersey Children's Home Society, epitomizes the replies of many: "Yes; on educational lines, and especially in the creation of a preventive program."

Prof. Chas. B. Davenport, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C., replied: "My reports on the Nams and the Hill Folk indicate my opinion of the desirability of such work, and the lines along which I think it should be carried on." The Nams and the Hill Folk are two groups of families, one in New York, the other in Massachusetts, descendants of shiftless and immoral ancestors, in whom for five generations has persisted a tendency to drink, crime and immorality, with shiftlessness and dependence on public aid. They are special examples of rural needs, many times duplicated the country over, the partial cure being education and segregation, to be accomplished through organized rural welfare work.

Miss Ida H. Curry, Secretary of the Children's Department of the New York Charities Aid Association, declared: "The most flagrant neglect of children that has ever come to my attention, has been among children of American stock in rural communities." Similar testimony was given in the replies received from other social workers, north and south, and on the Pacific coast.

An effort was also made to obtain estimates of the amount of child need in rural communities, as compared to cities. The replies varied greatly. Some seemed to think the need small, because little had been asked for or done in the past. Others, in touch with country work, declare the needs large and important. A few, after prolonged and special experience, say that the needs are as great in proportion to population

as in the cities; and that welfare work is even more urgently required because of isolation, relative indifference, and other conditions.

Miss Ida Curry, who bases her opinion upon detailed rural work, most of it carried on for five or more years, in fifteen counties of the state of New York, says: "In my judgment the per cent. of children neglected or destitute requiring public assistance of some kind, is as great or greater in the country districts than in the cities. In the large towns near neighbors know of conditions, and there being social workers and organizations to appeal to near at hand, cases are more closely looked up than in the scattered population of country districts. There, although conditions in general may be known, no one is directly interested to report cases and urge action. Many serious cases go on month after month, and even for years, without any effort being made to remedy them. Therefore there is great need for social workers to enter rural communities, stir up interest, report on definite cases, and organize for continued and remedial work for the future."

This lucid and vigorous statement, based on long and wide experience, aptly describes the situation and indicates the duty to be performed. The writer's personal experience, including eleven years of service as the Superintendent of the Iowa Children's Home Society, which did much work in rural communities, exactly coincides with that of Miss Curry, of New York, and of others in different states. If less than an equal number of country children in proportion to population are aided by welfare organizations, it is probably because the city is in this respect an easier field to cover, and the country cases are scattered beyond the reach of existing agencies.

Examples of Rural Needs.

What kind of needs are found in rural communities? With slight variations, everything that can be found in the cities—poverty, neglect, cruelty, illegitimacy, desertion, and the uncontrolled production of feeble-minded children, and all accentuated by isolation and the lack of local interest and authority. Take a few concrete instances of real country cases, which could be duplicated and multiplied from any state in the Union.

A few months ago, as I sat in the office of a society doing country work, a letter from the morning's mail was shown me, which asked aid in an aggravated case. The letter told of a feeble-minded mother, with three grown feeble-minded daughters, all of whom were promiscuous in their relations with men, and who have among them several illegitimate children, with more expected. They are a menace to the community in which they live, and the letter asked aid to break up the nest of iniquity, the task being beyond the powers native to that rural locality.

Housing reform seems to be a theme almost necessarily connected with slum and tenement districts of cities, yet crowded and unsanitary conditions exist in lone hovels among the hills equal to any in the congested centers. From recent reports of rural agents of the State Char-

ities Aid Association of New York I take two descriptions. One is a country cabin or shack containing three rooms, the home of a total of 24 persons—six men, five women and thirteen children under eight years of age. The other is a two-room shack, the only dwelling for ten people, five adults and five children, whose bed accommodations consisted of one filthy mattress, some old horse blankets and a nest of straw upon the floor. In both cases the presence of vermin, the lack of decent toilet facilities, the utter promiscuity of the life, equal the poverty, squalor and crowding seen in modern city slums. Yet some think such things do not matter, if found in country districts.

In my own experience as a superintendent I have received many families from rural conditions as bad as these. I remember one family of five who lived for years in a cave dug in the clay bluff of the Des Moines river. The three children, who were little more than animals when taken away from their unworthy parents, afterward developed into fine children.

Another family of seven, the parents and five children, lived in a hut upon the bank of the Iowa river, the structure being half a dug-out, half a gable of poles covered with hay upon which a heavy coat of clay was placed to act as a roof. The father, a wood-chopper, was seriously injured in a drunken brawl, and taken to a hospital. The condition of the family then became known, the children were rescued, and later placed in family homes.

A third family, a man, a woman, and five children, no two of whom were supposed to have the same father, lived in a wood-shed on a village alley. There were no windows and only a blanket for a door. An old legless stove stood in one corner. A big box with a few broken dishes, and a few smaller boxes for seats completed the furnishings. There was no bed, only a nest of straw on the dirt floor, and a number of old blankets, filthy beyond description. Out of this excuse for a dwelling, and away from the unworthy adults who do not deserve the name of parents, a court order rescued the five children in January, 1901. Most of them have since made good in foster homes.

Illustrations need not be multiplied. The known cases of child distress voice a tremendous demand for systematic welfare work in rural communities. Duty requires that we put in practice in country districts the principles and methods now used in our most progressive cities.

Constructive Efforts Demanded.

So far I have dwelt upon the need of what may be termed operative child welfare work, dealing with results, but in small degree abolishing causes and safeguarding the future. Side by side with the direct or operative part of the work should go preventive and remedial efforts. What are some of them?

1. Every correspondent, east and west, urged the enlargement of educational opportunities for the children of rural communities. From Massachusetts, New Jersey, Missouri and Washington social workers

plead for the regeneration of rural schools, their modernization, vitalization, adaptation to the times, and some way of making them the heart of social life and action. In some of the states a beginning has been made along these lines by combining several districts, or whole townships, into grade and high schools, with public transportation to and from the central school buildings—one of the most important rural educational movements of recent years. More and better teachers, modern schoolhouses and equipment, and neighborhood playgrounds, will aid mightily in solving the problems of rural communities.

2. The second agency to be established is an endless chain of social centers, among the people, by the people, and for the people, but at first necessarily under trained leadership from the outside. This implies a constant and general use of schoolhouses and playgrounds, and perhaps churches, in ways some of which were unknown to the fathers, but proven effective wherever rightly undertaken. An eminent social worker says: "I believe that the establishment of social centers in rural communities, with one or more trained workers in each of them, taking a kindly interest in the people and teaching them high standards of living, and exercising at the same time a legal and sympathetic protectorate over the neglected children of the neighborhood, would be an invaluable agency for the betterment of present conditions."

3. The third constructive element in rural welfare is the revitalizing and modernizing of the country church. No real welfare work can ignore or minimize this great agency in efforts to improve or reconstruct rural society. While named third, it is probably first in potentialities. In all ages the sanctions and power of religion have been of immense influence upon human life and character. If adjusted to modern conditions, as the best city churches have adjusted themselves, the country church may provide both essential dynamics and leadership to rural welfare movements.

In the country up to this time there has been very little development of the churches to meet the needs of the day. As a consequence they are proportionately weaker than they were 25 years ago. About 1890 there were 21 flourishing country churches in Scott county, Iowa. Today, according to a leading citizen of the county, only three of them have supporting congregations and regular services. This is an extreme but not an isolated case. The broadening, strengthening, and socializing of the country church is one of the crying needs of this generation.

Rev. Harry Deiman, of Chicago, says: "The church of the country must not be satisfied with a gospel of personal salvation, but must be filled with the passion of vitalizing the life of the entire countryside with ideals that do justice to our social Christianity. The church must so energize rural life that it may keep pace with our advancing civilization."

Dr. Charles Otis Gill and Mr. Gifford Pinchot are the joint authors of a remarkable new book on "The Country Church." I can quote but one or two of its pregnant statements: "The church is the natural body

to lead in rural social service." "The country church needs social service to vitalize it as much as social service in the country needs the help of the church." "Social service is as important to the health of the community in the country as in the city, while results in the country are far more easily accomplished."

The necessity of the revitalized and modernized church in any worthy scheme of rural welfare is therefore apparent. How to coordinate it with progressive educational systems and secular social service, is a matter for deep and careful study.

4. The next preventive agency is adequate institutional provision for the feeble-minded. According to the estimate of the best authorities, every state has a feeble-minded person for about every 300 of its population. One development of recent years is the conviction that the feeble-minded female should be segregated during her years of possible child-bearing, as a protection to her personally, and to safeguard the future of the race. Hence the need of great additions in every state to the present inadequate institutional provisions for this class.

The country needs this aid even more than the cities, as the conditions there are less favorable than in the cities for the mentally subnormal. In the cities there are special schools for the backward and the feeble-minded of the higher classes, and various other remedial agencies, all of which can be conducted successfully where sufficient numbers can be gathered for their operation. These remedial and educational arrangements are impossible in the country, so the welfare of the rural feeble-minded, and that of the normal people who now are in daily association with them, can best be conserved by such institutional provision.

5. Another instrumentality combines caring for results with seed-sowing for a better future. Agencies or societies, local or general, should be enlisted or established, with representatives in at least every county, and in some cases smaller communities, to seek out and care for homeless children, or those in the hands of criminal or otherwise improper persons, and find them homes in good families at a distance from their original environment. This would give to each one of these children a fair chance, unhampered by old names or associations. Neighborhoods so treated would in time lose their depressing elements, and rise above the average in mentality and morality.

Social Work in Rural Communities.

What is the best method of doing rural welfare work, by new local organizations, or by the extension of city organizations to rural communities? An extension of city organizations, to prepare the way for local organizations, is in my judgment the only feasible way, the only practical solution of existing problems.

1. Rural communities must be stimulated and shown, before they can be expected to do welfare work for themselves. Some one must bear into each country community the seed of this social gospel, and sow it in

sympathetic ears; and continue in the field after the first harvests, lest lack of leadership produce discouragement.

2. Only the cities now have the trained workers, capable of teaching and training others as potential leaders; and the cities alone can now gather, train, and send out these rural agents to be the voice and example of the new and better ways.

3. The cities alone now have organization, and the financial backing to carry out a social propaganda for the country districts. Ultimately the country will support its own work as generously as do the cities now; but at first the country must be considered a social mission field for city beneficence.

A number of strong and worthy societies and agencies, in all parts of the Union, are sending their agents from the cities into their respective country districts, there to seek family homes for their wards, and occasionally to do active work in the local neighborhoods. Yet, as the late Joseph Cook said of certain things in his lecture on "Ultimate America": "These are efficient, but they are not sufficient." There must be systematic constructive work looking to the future as well as active efforts relating to the present.

In some way the boards of education and superintendents of instruction must be roused to meet more adequately the educational needs of the majority of our people, who are found not in cities, but in the rural communities of our land. In some way the social center idea must be fitted to the narrow and meager lives of rural people; and the enlivening influence of interesting associations will do much to transform the unprogressive and isolated into advanced and influential citizens. In some way the rural church must be awakened, so as to become a prime agency in the regeneration of country life. It must advocate social reforms, originate social improvements, and stimulate the service of humanity as the earthward side of the service of God.

These, with the adequate institutional care of defectives, and other measures to cure existing social ills, are essential parts of a protective scheme to safeguard the future of our people. They will take money, but somehow the money must be raised. They will require workers, but somehow the workers must be found.

Note the method employed by the Children's Department of the New York Charities Aid Association to develop welfare work in rural communities. They make the county the unit of service. There they locate a trained social worker, whose duty it is to stir up interest, do actual service in behalf of destitute and endangered children, and organize for the permanent improvement of social conditions. Actual cases, preferably of long standing and aggravated character, within the county, are specially studied, names of witnesses and data for use as evidence are secured, and assistance sought from courts, officials, and institutions. The needs that exist and the changes that should be made are brought before the local communities. When the people are pre-

pared and the time is ripe, a local organization is formed to push all lines of child welfare work throughout the county.

Such methods, modified to meet the needs of different localities, and co-ordinated with reforms in education, social center organizations, the modernized church, and the segregation of the mentally subnormal, will, I believe, solve the main problems of rural welfare work, and ultimately prove both efficient and sufficient.

UNITY IN CHILD-HELPING SERVICE.

William T. Cross, Columbia, Missouri; Secretary State Board of Charities and Corrections.

The presentation of the needs of child welfare work in rural communities reveals the fact that much of the child problem is due to its social setting. It is social conditions which we have in mind, and not the nature of the child, when we differentiate the city from the country problem. We have been told that more than half the children are being reared under urban conditions, and heretofore the child problem has been accepted as being almost altogether an accompaniment of city life. This is partly because the complex city organization has defied analysis and control, and the spontaneous, natural measures of child saving common in simple country life cannot be applied in the city. The very necessity of shipping orphans and foundlings from the larger cities into rural districts is evidence that cities have not been able to regulate themselves completely as social units. But when we begin to study the rural child problem our conclusions must be much more comprehensive and valuable, for then we are thinking of a self-regulating community. No one will advocate sending dependent and neglected children in large numbers from the country to the city. And, moreover, we can come much nearer a valid analysis of the forces affecting child life in the country.

We would be a great deal more serious and thorough-going in our organization and unification of child-helping forces if the significance of this question as compared with other social problems were kept in mind. Mr. Kingsley told us last year that we do not really know the tenement until we see it through the eyes of the child. We never appreciate any section or institution of social life till we see it in relation to child welfare. The child is the touchstone of all social problems. Successful fathering of posterity is the criterion of race efficiency. The effects of this new doctrine are already to be seen in the planning and architecture of our cities, in nearly every branch of social legislation, in literature and in the ethics of social life.

The first effort to be made in securing unity in child-helping service naturally should be to correlate the so-called child saving agencies. But this, desirable as it is, represents only a superficial stage in the work of unification. The more fundamental unity which we should seek, even though it may not be completely attainable, is the correlation of all the

major features in social life which influence the development of children. It may be necessary for one to defend himself in taking this question out of the conventional limits of discussing unity among juvenile courts, child-placing societies and orphanages, etc. Supposing we had settled ideally for our state the questions of state school versus county home system, of public versus private initiative, of institution care as opposed to boarding out, and had all agencies of this character working harmoniously, even with a common confidential bureau for case work; then would we have a satisfactory unity and completeness in child-helping service? Or would not many of the fundamental questions lie beyond?

The Fundamental Tasks of Child Saving.

The objective of all work for children is the production of normally-developed men and women. There is no lack of unity in the ultimate aim. This requires that the child be well-born, that he be free from excessive labor, that he be well educated; and that if these requirements be not met or if any other circumstance throws him into the dependent, defective or delinquent class, he shall be rescued as quickly and adequately as possible. One of the most noticeable recent developments has been the recognition of the wide social rooting of special problems in this field. Formerly defectiveness, dependency and delinquency of a pronounced type, alone, were recognized as constituting problems of child-helping. But now we are discovering the wide social bearings of these problems, and have added other child saving tasks as well.

In order to secure a more effective unity in child-helping service all workers for children should keep in mind the following six major tasks of child saving:

1. The prevention of infant mortality. This is a question chiefly of public health and intelligent mothering, its main factors being those of housing, food supply, the physical condition of the mother and education as to care of children. The general administrative problem relates chiefly to the health departments of cities and states.

2. The avoidance of excessive and harmful child labor. The problem grows out of misuse of the natural energy of children. The corrective is simple, though often difficult to administer successfully: the legal restraint of employers.

3. Efficient education, physical, mental and industrial. While this matter involves the whole school system, it is so immediately connected with the problems of child-helping that it must not be left out of consideration. Workers for children should have much to say as to the contents of the curriculum, for example in respect to industrial education and training as to sex and morality. Moreover, they are interested in such related problems of administration as playground work, medical inspection, nutrition, etc. Child-helping activities in this field revolve naturally about the central work of the schools.

4 The treatment of defectiveness. At present there are a great

variety of measures in use in connection with this problem, differing mainly according to the nature and degree of defectiveness and the age at which treatment begins. Restrictive marriage laws may operate to prevent the increase of defectiveness. Backward children are educated in the regular schools. The blind and the deaf are given special training. The more pronounced cases of feeble-mindedness and epilepsy are usually segregated in state or private institutions. Some of these classes are erroneously treated as criminals, some are given merely the attention ordinarily shown paupers. The non-criminal, non-pauper defectives are often left at large, with evil effect. Evidently from an administrative standpoint there is a great scattering and dissipation of forces in the treatment of this problem. In a state of more perfect social control the work will probably be concentrated under two divisions, education and custodial care.

5. The treatment of dependency and neglect among children. Activities in this field are directed chiefly toward (a) caring for children as individuals, apart from their former homes, either in institutions or in foster homes; and (b) subsidizing and in other ways conserving the home for the sake of the child. This problem, which seemed first to be one chiefly of poor relief, of recent years has been emphasized more on the side of affording proper training for the child. The administrative agencies in this field are too frequently discussed to need characterization here. Unity is to be secured through voluntary co-operation among private agencies and their co-ordination with public institutions and bureaus, and through direct public supervision of private effort.

6. Reformative treatment of delinquents. Expressed in terms of modern forms of administration, this is a question of juvenile courts and probation and of reformatory institutions. More than any other of the six problems named, however, this task requires correlation with all forces affecting child life. It is necessary to correct the environment as well as the child. It is hard for a boy to grow straight in a crooked community. Moreover, in nearly all states there is urgent need of correlation of the work of state schools for delinquent boys and girls with the forces at work in local communities.

There is need of greater unity of forces in the performance of each of these six major tasks, and it is equally desirable that the leading agencies in all six divisions be bound together with a common purpose and practical basis of understanding. The possibilities of this brief paper are exhausted when the more important factors to be correlated have been designated specifically. But the practicability of better co-operation among administrative agencies that have been mentioned in this broad field is beyond question. One of the most promising recent developments in this direction has been the creation of national and state children's bureaus. We shall never get a satisfactory union of child-helping agencies except on the basis of complete social control of these related problems. This means, practically, a comprehensive public super-

vision. And, furthermore, centralized public supervision is the only effective way to guarantee minimum standards of well-being to children. The time is at hand for us to set about the realization of certain reasonable standards of child welfare. It has been the aim of this paper to demonstrate the possibilities of an interlocking of administrative forces in child-helping work. But there is a limit to such mechanical expedients. The great progressive task is *the enforcement of standards* of treatment of children through legislation and education.

Moral Basis Emphasized.

The fundamental question in child-helping service—the one to which both remedial and preventive standards should relate—is that of *morality* and of *motive* in social adjustment at the source of our race life. The social disease which makes professional child saving work necessary begins with the tendency to individual carelessness which we combat in the sex hygiene movement. Later it is seen in the social carelessness which lets 200,000 infant lives flicker out every year. The sediment of most difficult cases in all children's institutions is the neglected and abused children, of which again the underlying cause is a ripened carelessness and domestic maladjustment. Therefore, the deepest-running task in child-helping service is that of developing a convincing and effective code of morality among all classes regarding the significance of child life. The child saving problem is a problem of the broken home and the unsuccessful family life. Its deepest root is ignorance and carelessness and immorality. The only positive task in this field is to engender a greater appreciation of children.

There is an obvious gain, not only in simplifying measures of administration, but also in determining well the objective of our efforts. The most important element of unity, and the one in which practical workers should first get together, is that of ideals. Our service must be pre-eminently one of education—education both for those who have or may have children, and for the man who has influence in the treatment of other people's children, as does the alderman when the question of new playgrounds is to be voted upon. Intelligent standards must be preached from the pulpit, and no less forcibly in the graphic designs of child welfare exhibits. They must be borne in upon reluctant employers of child labor and owners of tenements in the form of minimum standards from which the law will not allow them to escape.

In the early days child saving work, like most productive industries, was carried on in the home. There was no need to discuss simplification and unity. But now what have we? Foundling asylums, orphanages, placing-out societies, homes for crippled children and incurables, state systems of child saving, homes for the feeble-minded and epileptics, schools for backward children, psychopathic institutes, juvenile courts, reform schools, juvenile protective associations, and many other types of organizations with related work. The tendency is centrifugal. More attention should be given to common principles, and in our activities we should approximate more nearly the simple co-ordination of the home.

CARING FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN CALIFORNIA.

W. Almont Gates, San Francisco; Secretary State Board of Charities and Corrections.

In times past we have seen the state of California held up as a good example of how not to care for dependent children. Our system of state aid has been especially an object of criticism. But California has changed some under the stimulus of progressivism, and the viewpoint of our critics seems to have changed much, so that now we believe our system presents some features worthy of attention. In the early history of the state the orphan asylum came into existence as the medium for the care of dependent children. The first was founded in 1854 and others followed along until now we have in the state forty-three so-called orphan asylums. In these earlier days the population was more mobile, not settled in homes, and of many nationalities. It was also recently immigrant and there were here few family relatives. Mining and trading were the main occupations. Agriculture was carried on in large rancheros and by an unstable cheap labor. There were few farm homes such as abounded throughout that portion of our country east of the Missouri river. The orphan asylum met the demands of the country and the times. The number of children in them grew so large that the state very early came to the aid of private charity in their maintenance. Thus came into existence the system of state aid for orphans, half orphans and abandoned children. The money in aid of these children was in the first place paid to the institutions caring for the children, but later much was disbursed to individuals through the county boards of supervisors, in our state the governing body of the county. The amount of state aid arose to nearly a half million dollars a year. For the year ending June 30, 1912, the amount of state aid allowed to the orphan asylums was $228,021.52, and through the boards of supervisors to individuals $201,218.44, a total of $429,239.96, and the number of children aided was 6,987. The aid paid to orphan asylums was more largely in behalf of whole orphans, abandoned children, and half orphans whose fathers were living. That paid to the counties went more largely to mothers and for children in families of relatives.

When I went to California ten years ago to take up the work as secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, I found the system of caring for dependent children about as above outlined. There were also several so-called home-finding societies, placing some children in homes, but the work done by most of them was not commensurate with the cost. These societies depended upon solicitation from the public for their support.

Ten Years of Evolution.

I soon saw where abuse existed and improvements were needed, but believed that conditions should be changed by a process of evolution and

not by revolution. It has, however, taken ten years of evolution to get a system that is not yet satisfactory. The first step necessary was to get state supervision. This was obtained two years ago. The home finding societies were not only placed under the supervision of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, but required to obtain from that Board a license to conduct their business. Under this law, those societies doing unsatisfactory work were closed up, and with such endorsement as a license from the State Board of Charities and Corrections carried with it, the others were enabled to do better work. There are now four organizations placing out children under a license, and only two of these doing a state-wide work, the other two being local to San Francisco. Last year these societies placed into homes 579 children, of which a number were replacements. This is still a small work of child placing and it will, we believe, soon increase.

The State Board of Charities and Corrections was also authorized to inspect all orphan asylums receiving state aid, obtain statistical reports therefrom, and report upon the conditions prevailing therein. The reports from, and inspections of, these institutions gave much information of value which has led to some new legislation. The power of the Board over orphan asylums was increased so that now every institution, boarding house, home or other place for the reception and care of children must obtain a permit or license therefor from the State Board of Charities and Corrections. To conduct such a place without the license provided for will subject the offending persons to imprisonment not exceeding one year, or a fine not exceeding $500, or both a fine and imprisonment. The State Board of Charities and Corrections is further authorized to prescribe conditions upon which licenses to such institutions shall issue and also rules and regulations for their general conduct. Under this power the State Board of Charities and Corrections can close such of these institutions as are not needed, or are unable or unwilling to maintain the desired standard.

By another act, the machinery for disbursing state aid has been materially improved. The same amount of money has been appropriated as heretofore, viz: $430,000 a year, but the administration of this fund will be in the hands of the State Board of Control, which heretofore has audited the claims. There are some material changes in the organic law; one that the state aid may be given to the mother for each half orphan maintained by her in her home to the amount of $6.25 per month and an equal amount by the county if the needs of the mother require it. If the county refuses, the mother may appeal to the Board of Control. This would allow to the mother $12.50 per month to maintain each half orphan child in her own home. This applies also where the father is confined in a state prison or a state insane hospital. This aid is in all cases based upon need. It will not be needed where those legally charged with its support are able to furnish maintenance.

A second change in the organic act is that, while aid will continue to be given direct to orphan asylums for the maintenance of orphan,

half orphan and abandoned children, it will not be given where the father is living, unless the father is physically disabled or otherwise unable to support such child. The burden of proof will rest upon the party applying for aid.

A third organic change is that "no child maintained in an institution for whom a *bona fide* offer of a proper home has been made shall be considered eligible for further state aid". This will provide for the placing out into homes of the whole orphans and abandoned children.

A fourth change in the organic law provides for the appointment by the Board of Control of three children's agents, who shall work under the direction of the Board, and "who shall visit the homes and institutions in which are children to whom state aid is being given, or for whom aid is being asked, to obtain such information as the Board may need in carrying out the provisions of this chapter". This will give the power to the Board of Control to determine the dependency of the child, the character of the home or institution, and the kind of training the child is receiving, and if any one of these is unsatisfactory, it can refuse the state aid and thus force some other disposition to be made of the child. In such cases the juvenile court can act and make such disposition of the child as the facts will warrant.

This is in substance our "mothers' pension law". It is not a pension law at all. It does, however, provide aid to needy widowed mothers. We are not in favor of mothers' pensions, but we believe that every child is entitled to the love and care of its natural mother unless she is unfit and it should not be taken from her on account of her poverty. We will, however, go still farther. We will not take the child entirely away from a good father on account of his temporary misfortune. He may place it in an orphan asylum or in the home of a friend, and if necessary, we will aid him to keep it within his custody.

Problems of Child Abandonment and Illegitimacy.

But, we are told, the child if placed in an orphan asylum will become institutionalized, and a good foster home is better than any institution. We will grant that, but how long will it take to institutionalize the child? Our statistics prove that the average time a child remains in an orphan asylum is about twenty months. This average is made by including all children in the orphan asylum. With the new provision for placing whole orphans and abandoned children into homes, we will no doubt find that the half orphan will remain in the orphan asylum not more than fifteen months. Last year the number of half orphans aided in the institutions was 2,830, and in the counties 3,045. The orphan asylum helps the surviving parent to tide over an emergency and keeps parent and child together. It strengthens family ties instead of breaking them, and the dangers of institutionalism for this short period are not a serious menace to the child's welfare. The obligations of parenthood must not be lightly cast aside. On the contrary, they should be enforced, except where the moral conditions are so bad that the child must be removed for its

own safety. Even then the guilty parent should taste punishment. The welfare of the child is not the only consideration. We must teach the parent that in becoming such he or she has assumed a sacred responsibility. A strong campaign all over the country should be made against child abandonment, and all laws fixing parental obligation be rigidly enforced. Our experience of the last two years has taught us the necessity of such action. Voices from other states proclaim similar conditions. In our state now abandonment of children is a felony and the maximum penalty is imprisonment in state prison for five years and a fine of five hundred dollars. A vigorous enforcement of this law will certainly reduce the number of cases of abandonment.

The question of the illegitimate child is becoming one of especially serious importance. There has grown up in our cities an institution called the "maternity home" or "lying-in hospital", whose mission it is to care for women during child-birth. Our information shows that the patrons of these places are mostly unmarried women. A matron of one of them told me that the majority of her patrons were high school girls. The others are employed in shops, stores, offices, etc., and I know of two cases of school teachers. The practice has been to receive the prospective mother under an assumed name, help her to keep secret her identity, accept and file a false birth certificate, dispose of her child, and permit her to return to her friends with her reputation at least saved. The advertisements in the daily papers inserted by these maternity homes frequently contain the word "adoption", to signifiy to a prospective patron that she can be relieved of the burden of the child. These babies have then been used by the home as a source of revenue. There are enough childless marriages to create a demand for promising babies, and therefore a market. The maternity home takes advantage of this demand and sells the baby to any couple who will pay the price. We know of one instance where a wealthy couple paid $200 for one of these babies. This same couple had applied to a children's home placing society for a child and the application had for good reasons been rejected.

Two years ago our legislature passed an act that we thought would stop this practice. This law prohibited the placing out of children except by licensed home finding societies, but the astute lawyers employed by these homes soon found a way to evade the law. A relinquishment was made out and executed by the mother, leaving the name of the relinquisher, or grantee, blank, and the name of the purchaser of the child was inserted after the sale was consummated.

We have now enacted a law which gives the State Board of Charities and Corrections the same power over these institutions as over orphan asylums. Both are named in the same act and are subject to the same provisions. The maternity hospitals must obtain a license upon conditions prescribed by the State Board of Charities and Corrections, and conduct their places in accordance with rules prescribed by the State Board. If they do not observe these rules the Board may withdraw their license and close them up.

Difficulties in State Supervision.

In drafting rules for the conduct of these places, there arise these questions.

First. Shall the State Board of Charities and Corrections assist in protecting the reputation of the girl giving birth to an illegitimate child?

Second. Should the father and mother of an illegitimate child be exempted from its care and maintenance?

Third. If the father, and especially the mother, are minors, should their parents be relieved of legal responsibility?

I confess that I am a Puritan, reared of Puritan stock on the Western Reserve of Ohio, and in my day parents of children, whatever their legal status, were not permitted to escape responsibility. My impressions running down through the years are still that the effect was good. Will not publicity and the enforcement of parental responsibility today be a great moral lesson to other girls, and to mothers who have daughters to care for? Probably mothers would be more watchful, take more interest in the company their daughters keep, and, let us hope, insist upon a modest costume that would at least distinguish their daughters from common street walkers. There would be some surprises when the putative fathers were brought in and we saw how high up in the social scale some of them reached. If they were compelled, regardless of station, to meet all their parental obligations, they would no doubt hesitate before seeking a second victim, and perhaps the moral lesson might reach others not yet guilty.

The objection urged to this course by some social workers is that the desire to save a girl's reputation might lead to more serious crimes, which would outweigh the good to be obtained. I do not think so. There might be some crimes committed, but I do not believe they would overbalance the good effects. From many sources of information we learn that immorality among our young people is on the increase. It is serious in our high schools, so much so that assignation houses have been planted in many places in the very shadow of high school buildings. Shall we continue to encourage such conditions by relieving the guilty ones of responsibility and throwing over them a secret mantle of charity to cover their shame, or shall we force them into the open to face their full responsibility and bear the consequence of their acts?

One of the motives in our legislation is to remove the causes of dependency. Death is the common lot of us all and there must always be orphans and half orphans, but the dependency of such can in a measure be provided against. With our laws for workmen's compensation for injuries, social insurance, and other legislation on lines of social and industrial justice, we expect to see a material decrease in dependency.

In conclusion I will sum up the California system for the care of dependent children as it now stands.

1st. Complete supervision by the State Board of Charities and Corrections of all institutions and agencies engaged in caring for or handling dependent children.

2nd. The preservation of family ties and the maintenance of the child in the home of its living parents or relatives, unless by a judgment of court they are declared to be immoral, cruel or unfit.

3rd. Temporary care of children in institutions when that is essential to tide over an emergency or re-establish a broken home.

4th. The placing out into approved family homes of all children whose natural home has for any cause failed and cannnot be restored.

5th. Compelling all responsible parents to meet their parental obligations.

6th. Adequate aid for dependent children and such supervision thereof as will secure to them the care, education, and training which is the natural birthright of every child.

7th. A constant campaign to lessen the causes which produce dependency.

THE CHILD WELFARE EXHIBIT AS A MEANS OF CHILD HELPING.

Anna Louise Strong, Ph. D., New York City; Director of Exhibits, National Child Welfare Exhibit Committee.

In speaking of the Child Welfare Exhibit as a Means of Child Helping, I shall take it for granted that the members of this audience know in a general way what such an exhibit is, and that there have been about a dozen large exhibits of this kind, extending over the past two and a half years, reaching from Montreal to Knoxville, Tenn., from Providence to Kansas City, with a total attendance of over a million and a half. I shall therefore omit such popular and possibly interesting description of the exhibit and shall confine myself to five points.

1. What Is a Child Welfare Exhibit and When Should it be Held?

The term, child welfare exhibit, has become so popular that it has been applied and misapplied to exhibitions of widely varying character, some semi-commercial, some philanthropic and educational, but limited in scope. Thus, for instance, an exhibit prepared by a visiting nurses association, showing proper care of infants, is not a child welfare exhibit, though it may be a very excellent baby-saving show. If terms mean anything, a child welfare exhibit must deal, as adequately as possible, with *all* the forces of the community directly affecting the welfare of the community's children.

This all-inclusiveness makes both for a certain strength and a certain weakness. It marks the difference between the child welfare exhibit and exhibits on housing, on tuberculosis, on mental hygiene, or

on city planning. These last deal in detail with relatively concise problems, which they show with the elaboration of expert knowledge; a child welfare exhibit covers so much ground that it cannot go with minute thoroughness into detailed presentation of any subject. On the other hand, through the drawing together of a large proportion of the community's forces—for the agencies affecting children constitute a *very* large proportion of all important agencies—it gives a general oversight of community problems and community resources, and frequently leads to a general program for development carried on through subsequent months.

The very nature of the child welfare exhibit demands, therefore, that such an exhibit should never be held until there is a general consensus of opinion among the leading social workers of a community that an exhibit is desirable. This means that they should have in their possession several very important messages which they desire to deliver to the public, and certain facts for which they ardently desire publicity. The experience of trying to hold an exhibit in one city where there were few available convictions and almost fewer available facts has shown how utterly impossible it is to make bricks without straw. It was like writing an advertisement for a man who had nothing to sell and didn't care to sell it, but who believed from hearsay in the good of advertising.

In stating that there must be a consensus of opinion on the part of leading social workers, I wish to guard against limiting the term, "social workers" to the employees of private charitable organizations. The board of education, of health, of parks and playgrounds, are among the community forces whose co-operation is absolutely necessary. Where philanthropy reaches its thousands, they reach their tens of thousands.

2. Effects on Child Helping Agencies.

Granted that an exhibit is to be held and that wide co-operation is assured, what can be hoped for by the participating child-helping agencies, using that term for the present in the sense of children's institutions, settlements, boys' and girls' clubs, and, in general, philanthropic agencies dealing at least partly with children.

First, such agencies may expect a definite increase of public interest and attention, due to the exhibit, in the direct work which they are doing. A certain settlement in Kansas City raised one hundred dollars in one afternoon on the floor of the exhibit, much to the annoyance of the general management, which had prohibited solicitation. The incident merely shows the interest aroused, an interest which in other cases has taken the more wholesome form of aid given *after* the exhibit. Mrs. Alice B. Montgomery, of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Northampton, Mass., states that the interest in her society, and the influence it was able to exert was more than doubled after the exhibit. A bill for increased appropriation to the State Home and Aid Society was an immediate result of the Providence exhibit.

Financial assistance is, however, of small importance compared with the influence on the organizations themselves. I can state this best in the words of a prominent worker in Kansas City. "We first work hard on a statement of just what we stand for. This is good for us. Most of us have forgotten that we don't stand for a new building, or the raising of a debt, but for something far more vital, the right care of children. I have seen boards of institutions labor for hours in the endeavor to state strikingly and clearly the function of their organization in the community's life. The achieving of a clear statement is a wonderful help to clear thinking and clear planning.

"Next we go over to the exhibit and see all the other societies that are doing work which supplements ours, perhaps duplicates ours. We see, many of us for the first time, our relation to big community forces making for child welfare, to the board of health and the public schools, and we realize the need of getting into right relations with these forces and making adequate use of them.

"Last of all, we wander over into the section on housing or on industrial conditions and gain some grasp of the vast, underlying problems which neither we, nor the public boards, have yet begun to touch. The exhibit shows us at one and the same time, the importance and the inadequacy of our work, and above all, the tremendous importance of supplementing the best we are able to do, by the closest kind of co-operation with all allied forces."

I hardly need supplement this statement of the effect which the exhibit may have on the child-helping agencies themselves. I might, however, add two comments. I have repeatedly seen organizations which were dallying with many plans, but carrying none of them to actual accomplishment, stirred into activity by the coming of an exhibit. Clubs have been stimulated to the completion of their organization, and settlements to a long-delayed co-operation in, for instance, some dramatic activity, in order that they might have something to show when the time of the exhibit came. I dislike to dwell, however, on such results as these, and prefer to pass to the next comment. The realization of the prominence of municipal activities and the part which the social worker may play in helping to form their ideals, and in utilizing their resources, is one very frequent result of an exhibit. I fear that some workers have had, *before* an exhibit, somewhat the attitude of a man who managed a small mission in one city where an exhibit was held. He arrived two days before the opening to demand a large space for the showing of his mission. He was unable to mention any special features of club-work worthy of mention, beyond the fact that at certain hours he kept about twenty children "off the street," yet he demanded a large and prominent "booth." I pointed out the fact that the whole exhibit of the board of education, dealing with the large problems of the wider use of schools, the need of vocational training and advice, as well as with the actual activities of the schools now going on, could only be given twice as much space as he asked for his small mission. He

answered: "Why do you give all that space to the schools; they don't need advertising as much as we do." It is to be hoped that an attitude of this kind occurs but seldom; it is safe to say that it never occurs in any worker who has once seen a child welfare exhibit.

After all, any organization that is worthy of the name of *social* agency goes into an exhibit and into other work as well, not merely for what it can get for itself, but for the sake of serving the community. And any organization which has a message to present finds in the exhibit a most advantageous form of publicity. Conditions of housing, conditions of health, conditions of labor, ideas on the proper care of babies, on the wider use of schools, what social agency is there which does not count it one of its chief duties to educate the community in some one of these matters? It is in this field of general public education, rather than in the advertising of particular agencies, that the exhibit finds its widest and most natural field.

3. Effects on the Community.

The effects of the exhibit upon the community may be conveniently divided into three kinds: the obtaining of new laws, institutions or officials; the definite education of individuals in particular facts, and the diffusing of a general public sentiment. Practically every child welfare exhibit has been followed by gains in legislation. The factory inspection ordinance, passed in Kansas City two days after the close of the exhibit, was passed by aldermen who confessedly "could not withstand the popular demand." Chicago secured a new bathing beach, and an infant welfare division in the Board of Health; Louisville secured a housing inspector. In Providence, where the exhibit was held at the beginning of the state legislature, no less than nine bills were immediately introduced in the almost humorous attempt of the legislators to get "on the band-wagon." These related to hours of labor, newsboys, a juvenile code and court, wider use of schools, the care of deaf, blind and imbecile children and several other questions. In Northampton, $25,000 was appropriated for a new school building in the district where many immigrants lived. Annual reports of conditions had been without avail for many years; four photographs did the work.

After the Chicago Child Welfare Exhibit, I spent a day with a welfare-station nurse on the West Side. I was amazed at the proportion of mothers who quoted the Child Welfare Exhibit. "I've been keeping the windows open since I went to the Coliseum." "They showed me all about those bottles at the Coliseum." And so on in nearly every house. In Kansas City a friend of mine, riding on a car behind two working men engaged in discussion, saw one of them pull out a paper. "Let me show you the figures I got at that Welfare Show," he said. Experiences of this kind, and the sight of scores of people taking notes throws light upon the second main effect of the exhibit on the community, the diffusion of definite information.

But what of the people who merely sit in the gallery and watch

the entertainments, and go out the way they came because there is no room for them on the floor. What of hundreds of others who, having come for that most human and praise-worthy of motives, the desire to see Johnny's school perform, wander around afterwards with a general sense of excitement over the vastness of the show, picking up a few crumbs of information, watching the class in domestic science, the dental clinic, and the baby welfare-station and then going home. I used to feel slightly apologetic when confronted by these thousands. I no longer feel so.

What constitutes the final pressure behind the securing of all legislation, and its enforcement after it is secured? What power elects every public official? A subtle, but generally diffused bias of the public mind for or against—that, and nothing more. What constitutes education—your education and mine, even if it be of the formal kind which we usually mean when we say education? Not the retention of very many definite facts, but a gradual and infinitely subtle change of attitude, of standards, a sense of familiarity in the presence of certain facts which before were as nothing to us. Somewhat more than this, perhaps, but isn't this a great deal of it? Two years after the Kansas City exhibit, a writer on the Star said to me: "I can get a hearing for any program of social reform by beginning my editorial, 'As we saw in the Child Welfare Exhibit.' I can count on a sympathetic, interested public." I have been amazed, in going through the streets of Louisville, to see how all the little newsboys considered this "their exhibit," in which their schoolmates were taking part. Some of them had read the comments we had to make on newsboys and added various bits of enlightening information. It is this popular bias of thousands of people, once vaguely indifferent, now vaguely in favor, that urged the Providence legislators into their nine bills. And I do not wish to be thought to be speaking merely of a mob-consciousness which is to be condemned and feared on general principles, and utilized occasionally to further blindly our own pet legislative purposes. We are dealing here with forces which I hold in far greater reverence than that, with forces with which we trifle only at great risk (and that risk I shall discuss later), the subconscious stirrings of the soul of the commonwealth, which is even now struggling into that conscious life which, when it is achieved, will be democracy.

4. Effect on the Children, Themselves.

Before passing to the question of the exhibit method and its opportunities and dangers, I want to mention briefly the effect of the exhibit on the children themselves. We are all children, more or less, in the things which impress us, but we are not all so open in our display of interest. The children's comments furnish a good barometer of popular impressions.

A boy of fourteen stood in the Providence exhibit, watching the "vicious circle" that displayed the unbroken sequence of

Child Labor,
Unskilled Labor,
Low Wages,
Poverty,
Child Labor,

each following the other. He said: "That means, doesn't it, that if I don't learn things, I'm going to be poor, and my children are going to be poor."

Another boy stood in front of the exhibit of a bad home, dirty, ill-kept. Two other boys passing remarked loftily: "Huh, our house ain't nothing like that." After an interval the first boy returned with a woman. For a time they talked in low tones, then as the explainer drew near he heard the words: "But, mother, those boys said their house isn't like this. Why is ours?"

Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, of Chicago, received some children's compositions in the fall after the Chicago Child Welfare Exhibit, describing the results of that exhibit in personal experience. One boy told of a visit to his aunt who had a crying baby. "I told my aunt that I thought she gave it too much solid food, 'cause it said in the exhibit that babies under a year shouldn't have anything but milk. So she tried that for a while, and the baby didn't cry nearly so much. Then I told her I thought it was too hot indoors with all those heavy covers, and I thought fresh air would be good for it. She said I could take it outdoors if I would look after it. And when I came back in the fall the baby wasn't crying at all!"

Six months after the Louisville exhibit, compositions about it were called for from the third grade up through the high school. Ninety per cent. of the children remembered the good and bad grocery in more or less detail. They had gained the idea that groceries should be clean and orderly, that food should be kept covered, and that there should be no flies around. When ninety per cent. of the school children in any city remember for six months the fact that groceries ought to meet certain elementary standards of cleanliness, the effect on the groceries is going to be more far-reaching than any law. And here we are touching at last upon the unique field of the large, popular exhibit. Legislation will be secured through exhibits, but there will always remain the chance that it might have been as cheaply secured by other means. But about this popular education which backs up legislation, there is, I think, no argument. This education is after all, the real, the unique function of the exhibit.

5. Advantages and Dangers of the Exhibit Method.

And this popular method carries with it the dangers of all popular methods. The advantages of the exhibit method are, it seems to me, fairly obvious. As a publicity measure, nothing I know of except a close election can equal the securing of hundreds of people who work together to produce a public display of their convictions. Our whole

system of diffusing information seems to be coming more and more to the exhibit method. I saw a book on my trip west, on the National Forests—nothing but photographs, with four significant lines under each; I know more about the national forests than I would have gained from many articles. It is amazing to notice the extent to which charts and photographs are sprinkling public statistical reports. The pictorial editorial is getting into the magazines and the newspapers.

Now the danger is just here. Falsehoods can be advertised just as truth can be. Organizations which have no business to exist may secure another lease of life through ingenious publicity.

These dangers can be guarded against in several ways. A comprehensive system of charities endorsement gives a basis for the exclusion of certain organizations. The careful consultation of the best people of a community, and the frequent consultation of national authorities is another safeguard. But above all these imposed safeguards I place one other, in which I think it is possible to trust if these should fail, and because of which I believe in the exhibit method, whatever its risks. That is the faith that when the widest publicity possible is secured, truth will win out. The light that beats around a throne is no fiercer than the light that has beat around disputed statements in a child welfare exhibit. And because of this, however and whenever individual exhibitors fail, I feel that the exhibit method is, in spite of its dangers, one of the safest, just because of the wideness of its reach, and the many-sidedness of the comments aroused.

THE AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE FEDERAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

Lewis Meriam, Assistant Chief.

When the question of my preparing a paper on the Children's Bureau for this Conference was first raised, I expected that I should be asked to tell you what we have been doing at the Bureau during this, our first year. I thought my paper would be in the nature of a report of the board of directors to the shareholders; for of course every government Bureau must recognize that it is answerable to the people for its conduct. The National Conference of Charities and Correction is not only a representative gathering of the people, but a gathering of those peculiarly fitted to judge of our work. Expecting to make a very simple report of work done I was a little surprised, and I may say very much pleased, to find that my subject was to be "The Aims and Objects of the Children's Bureau." It is a broader, wider subject than I had anticipated, giving an opportunity to glance up from the work on the desk and look off to the eastern horizon. I am not to be confined merely to what we are doing today—I can say something about what we hope to do tomorrow.

The work of the first year has been, I must confess, a little disappointing in that it has brought us so quickly to the limits of our present appropriation and to the limits of the physical powers of fifteen persons; and this, in spite of the fact that we have been very modest in our program. The act creating the Bureau gave us a broad charter; we were charged with the duty of investigating and reporting upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our population, and we were directed especially to investigate infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanages, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents, and diseases of children, employment, and legislation affecting children in the several states and territories. With a staff of fifteen persons and an appropriation, including our allowance for contingent expenses and printing, of less than $35,000, it was perfectly obvious that we could not attempt at the present time to cover any very considerable part of the field.

It was equally obvious that after perfecting our organization our first task was to bring together the existing material relating to children so that we might know what is being done throughout this country and in foreign countries for the welfare of children. We need it in directing our own work and in answering the inquiries addressed to us from all parts of the country.

We secured a librarian-translator, a woman with excellent university training in economics, history, sociology, and the languages and with ten years' experience in the Library of Congress; a woman with the social spirit, and she has laid the foundation for a specialized library on children's welfare. The allowance for the contingent expenses of the Bureau, from which allowance the expenses of the library have to be met, is so small that we cannot buy books and subscribe to magazines as we should; and thus far our library is made up chiefly of state and federal reports, and the reports and proceedings of certain private associations which have generously responded to our requests for gifts. We are chronic beggars. We look forward to the time when we can do more buying and less begging. We are waiting for the day when we can give our librarian the assistants that she needs, instead of wasting her very valuable time in routine work that does not require an expert, and then we hope to have in Washington the most complete and comprehensive library on child welfare to be found in the world, rich in manuscripts, current literature and the other things which are so hard to find and so illuminating, and then we hope to be able to devise some means whereby these treasures shall be made available not only to the staff of the Children's Bureau but to all who are working for the betterment of our child population.

Our second move was to begin to bring together and correlate the statistics regarding children which have already been collected by the Federal Government but which are scattered through numerous different volumes, bulletins, and tables. We are going to publish these in a handbook which we shall issue by sections, as each section is com-

pleted. Our present plan is to have five sections, the first showing how many children there are, and where they are, together with facts about their sex, race, nativity, parentage and age. The second section a Frenchman would call the movement of the child population; it is to give what data we have that can be used as a substitute for the birth rate, and the available statistics of infant mortality and its causes; it will give facts as to the growth of the child population. The third section will deal with school attendance and illiteracy, the fourth with child labor, and the fifth with the defective, the dependent, and the delinquent children. None of the basic figures will be original; they will all be taken from various publications of other bureaus, chiefly the Census Bureau, but the arrangement will be new and derivative figures will be new and we hope it will be valuable as a desk book for all who are working to help children.

I know some one will ask me when that handbook will be ready, and it is an embarrassing question, for it is my own particular job, assigned to me because I served a seven years' apprenticeship in the Census Bureau and am supposed to be familiar with government statistics and with governmental statistical methods. Never before have I attempted such a discouraging job. At the Census Bureau if such a work were undertaken a section of fifteen or twenty computing and copying clerks with a section chief would be organized and they would make reasonable progress. At the Children's Bureau I have myself and about half the time of one clerk. We don't make rapid progress. Now perhaps you realize why I am glad that I can talk about our hopes. I hope the time will soon come when the Children's Bureau can have a computing staff, with a section chief in charge at a salary of $1,600 a year, and an adequate number of assistants, say from fifteen to twenty with salaries ranging from $900 to $1,200, depending on efficiency and experience.

Plan to Ascertain Facts.

The Children's Bureau is not primarily a statistical Bureau and we do not want it to become a statistical bureau. You who helped to create it know that it must render a service which can not be rendered by mere statistics. But all its work must have a solid substantial foundation of fact, so that the Bureau can never be stampeded by theory and sentimentality. Perhaps more than any other governmental bureau it needs the results of thorough scientific investigations, and many of these will necessarily be statistical. We must, therefore, expect ultimately to secure a corps of statistical clerks who will enable us to handle the data which we must have with reasonable speed and proper economy and efficiency.

The Bureau even in its first year is undertaking some original investigative work. The law provided us with two field agents, and we had a small fund available for field investigation. You, who are familiar with social work, can understand with what unanimity we decided to

begin with infant mortality, the first subject specified in the law, and the best single index of social conditions. The appeal can hardly be denied that is carried in the figures, 300,000 deaths of babies under one year of age each year, 150,000 of them saveable if methods already well known to science can be applied. It was a fundamental beginning and one of national scope.

And yet we began in a very small way, because you have to begin in a small way with two agents and $2,500. We decided to take one small town which we could do thoroughly within a reasonable time, tabulate the results, get out a simple report, and go on to another. We are going to cover several small units in a uniform way and then finally we can combine them and compare them in a more complete and comprehensive report.

The plan of our investigation is this: we get from the birth records, the names and addresses of all the babies born in the selected city in a specified year with all the essential facts that the records contain regarding their parents, such as their race, country of birth, age and occupation; and then we go over the death records to see if any of those babies have died and if so we get such facts as the death certificate yields as to age at death and cause of death. All this goes on the front page of our schedule and then the agent, always a woman, calls at the house to see the mother and get from her not only complete data about the way the baby is fed and cared for, but also information about the family income and the industrial and reproductive history of the mother. Details of the housing condition and sanitation the agents get largely by observation. The results ought to be highly illuminating, and from the point of view of the statistician they will be unusually good because they will tell not only how many died under given circumstances but also how many survived those circumstances. In technical words, we shall be able to calculate infant mortality rates for the different classes into which the babies may be divided by family income, housing conditions, methods of feeding and many other interesting and highly significant facts. In addition we shall be able to give some interesting single cases and we expect to be able to tie it all up to general conditions in the city so that the babies of the city will derive an immediate profit from what we hope will be an indirect profit to all the babies of the country.

Surprising Co-operation of People.

I want to say a word or two about the field work. As we argued over the preparation of the schedule, one or another of us would suggest some new intimately personal question and the objection would immediately come: "The American mother won't stand for that." Sometimes we would decide to cut the question out and sometimes we would leave it in, though we had our doubts as to how our agents would escape, for we were not visiting only the poor who are used to having to answer, but we were following our law and carrying on our investigation

among all classes of our population. We went into our city, and our statistical expert, with rare skill, prepared the ground. The newspaper wrote up our work from the right point of view, the priests and the clergy spoke to their congregations about us and the city officials commended us. What troubles did we encounter? The poor mothers who had babies born in 1912 or 1913 complained because we had to confine our activities to the 1911 babies and could not hear their stories, and the richer mothers complained because we were not ready to furnish them with pamphlets on better ways of caring for the babies. Our agents were finding it difficult to escape but their dangers were not those we anticipated. We never really needed to doubt the ordinary, every-day mother; she is perfectly willing to tell the whole story if she believes it will help some other mother somewhere.

A by-product of our investigation, perhaps the product of greatest immediate value to the children, was the civic awakening in the town which we visited. Our coming, because of a bad infant mortality rate made garbage disposal and a good sewer system live topics. At our request the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture, with the approval of the local health authorities, is investigating the dairies in that section. We get the accurate data regarding the milk supply needed in a scientific investigation; the town gets the facts about its milk supply which means they will get better milk.

The results of our investigation will not be ready before fall, as we have not a sufficient force to tabulate and digest them rapidly. Here again we have hopes. We hope that the time will come when we can watch the infant mortality rates all over the country as the Weather Bureau watches the thermometer; and the minute we detect peculiarly bad conditions we can investigate, partly for the knowledge we can secure regarding infant mortality in general, but more especially for the help we can bring the babies in that particular city by rousing the community to action.

We also hope that when we visit our next city we shall not come to the mother empty handed, but can bring her a clear, simple pamphlet setting forth the best practice in caring for her children. We have in the Bureau one woman who is a university graduate and the mother of five children. She looks at things from the mother's point of view and she is able, through the bureau, to get the aid and co-operation of many of the most authoritative physicians and surgeons, both those in private practice and those in the government service. She is at present at work on a series of bulletins on the care of the child, beginning with one on prenatal care.

Our own investigation of infant mortality and much of the directly preventive work carried on by other agencies require for success the immediate registration of all births, and therefore we have joined forces with the Bureau of the Census, the Public Health Service, the American Medical Association, the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, the Bar Association, the Statistical Associa-

tion, and many other associations in the campaign for adequate birth registration. Our very first monograph was entitled, "Birth Registration. An Aid in Protecting the Lives and Rights of Children. Necessity for Extending the Registration Area."

Perhaps no single object is more immediately before us than to secure birth registration in every state in the Union. At present there are only seven or eight states recognized by the Bureau of the Census as having reasonably complete registration. We hope that the time will soon come when every state will have good registration, when vital statistics are so perfected that we can immediately detect bad sanitary areas, when births are so promptly reported that aid can be sent to the helpless babies in those first few days that mean so much, and when we can have accurate knowledge of the ages of children in enforcing our child labor laws and our compulsory school attendance laws. Then the Children's Bureau can become to the fullest extent a national bureau and can conduct its investigations of infant mortality and the birth rate in all parts of the country with equal facilities instead of being obliged as now to confine its activities to those states which have proper registration.

A Bureau of Information.

Now I have covered most of the formal tasks which we mapped out in our program for the first year. I have not mentioned the voluminous correspondence which the Bureau is conducting with people all over the country. The people have conceived of the Children's Bureau as a national clearing house for information regarding children, and they are writing to it accordingly. Child labor, juvenile courts, and mothers' pensions are subjects of such great popular interest that letters about them appear in almost every mail. Then there is the unusual letter, the letter on the subject which may not be of great interest to the whole community but is of utmost importance to the writer who is perhaps off in some remote section facing a problem that involves the welfare of some one, specific child. We have taken the attitude that our correspondents are right in their conception of the Children's Bureau, that it ought to be a great national clearing house for information regarding the welfare of children, and that each letter we get is entitled to our best efforts. Thus far we have little that we can send out direct from our bureau, but we have been writing to the societies, associations, and individuals who are specialists in the different problems confronting our correspondents, asking them to send the writer what information they have. The response has always been prompt, cordial and generous, and we are greatly indebted to those who have so kindly lent the helping hand. But it is not the way the government should work. The United States Government should not depend in this work on the kindness of private organizations. Many of their publications are, in fact, not intended for the use to which we ask them to put them, but are designed primarily to meet the needs of the

individual society. The Children's Bureau should have its own pamphlets reporting on matters in which, as our correspondence shows, the people are duly interested.

Limited by Meager Appropriation.

We ought to have ultimately adequately equipped divisions or sections, each specializing on some problem or group of problems pertaining to child welfare. There ought to be at the present time a division of child hygiene in which could be centered all the work regarding the birth rate, infant mortality and diseases of children. This division should prepare reports setting forth the results of its investigations, not merely dry, academic, strictly statistical reports, but reports full of suggestions for improving conditions; not reports to be read solely by the savant but, in some instances, reports designed to go directly into the hands of the ultimate uplifter—the mother with the baby, the manufacturers employing the children in the dangerous occupations, or the members of the state legislature.

We ought in the immediate future to have a division on child labor and another on juvenile delinquency and dependency. The division on juvenile delinquency and dependency ought to make provision for annual detailed statistics of the dependent and delinquent children coming before public and private agencies each year, with full particulars as to their home conditions and the provision made for their care. We are at the present time in what is being called the "century of the child." Methods of the past are, in some instances, being thrown overboard, in others, being given new and popular names. We have the juvenile court that is a really new institution, and then we have the juvenile court that is a modified police court. We ought to have a uniform, systematic study going on all the time to see how these things are working. We ought, in many cases, to substitute the statistical yardstick of the trained investigator for our faith in a name or a theory. I am sure most of you will agree with me when I say that we ought to do this especially in the case of mothers' pensions, or funds to parents. Nowhere else is there greater need for impartial, accurate and detailed records of results. If the movement in favor of such legislation must be stopped, we need convincing facts to offset the heart-gripping, popular appeal made by a simple recital of the theory upon which such legislation is based. If this legislation is sound in fundamental principle and is destined to be the opening wedge in a new order of things, again we need the facts, so that each new law may mark a step in advance over that adopted by the last state to try this new experiment. There should be some medium through which each state can profit from the experiments and experiences of her sister states.

The conception of those who created the Children's Bureau was, I believe, that it should supply such a medium in legislation for child welfare. It certainly is our conception of what the Children's Bureau

should become. It is not to conduct investigations for the sake of investigations but to conduct investigations which will aid in the improvement of the condition of children.

All this is looking to the eastern horizon. The papers on the desk show fifteen employees with a salary appropriation of $25,640, an allotment for contingent expenses of $4,500, and a printing fund of $3,500, a total of only $33,640.

DIAGNOSTIC METHODS AS AN AID IN JUVENILE COURT ADMINISTRATION.

Lilburn Merrill, M. D., Director of Diagnosis in the Seattle Juvenile Court.

There are indications that a few zealous advocates have wrongly interpreted the value of the juvenile court. In some communities its worth in the reformation of child offenders has been overstated. Elsewhere the court and probation system are depreciated because officials who have administered the laws with tenderness of heart have frequently recognized the futility of the social approach in the treatment of chronic delinquents.

At the outset much of the support of juvenile court legislation was secured by placing the harsh cruelties of the criminal law in shocking contrast with the spirit of love and mercy which has inspired the probation system. It was not unnatural, therefore, that the faith and zeal which followed the transition caused some persons to regard the new children's agency as a cure-all. Every available bad boy was headed toward the juvenile court, and it promptly became a clearing house for the care of all sorts and conditions of children.

This popularity of the court has not been greatly beneficial. It may cause a beneficial reaction. There are indications that some of us are already becoming weary in the quest of bad children. Complaints are current throughout the country that the courts are being overworked. Some are veritable bedlams of confusion. Judges are not infrequently under such pressure that the time available to them for the consideration of a child's destiny is entirely inadequate.

Evil Results of Overworked Courts.

Too much time is consumed by the hearing of unimportant complaints. Vast numbers of children are taken into court, and more or less stigmatized, for conduct which the average man can recollect as incidental to his childhood. This procession of children who pass in and out of the courts is constantly increasing. And because of the increase exaggerated statements of the appalling increase of juvenile delinquency have become commonplace. I am of the opinion that this increase of court cases is of less consequence as an evidence of criminality than statistics would indicate.

I would thus emphasize this objectionable crowding of the court docket not for the relief of the officials, but because of the children themselves. Society is making a serious mistake in sending youngsters before the court simply because the court offers a convenient place for the adjustment of petty depredations. Under the strain imposed by such a burden it is not surprising that some officials become neurotic and consign many a hapless youngster to institutions as a result of the officials' nerve fatigue, and not because of the youngster's delinquency. The officials should not be censured. The stability of the justices who preside in most of the American children's courts is wonderful. Nevertheless there is a limit to their endurance. Society should so relieve the courts that there shall be no occasion when the destiny of a child shall be decided by a judge when he is suffering from mental fatigue.

There is ample reason for censuring many adults—even estimable social workers—for bringing accidentally offending children into court. Such petitioners who thus act ill-advisedly in behalf of children are undoubtedly well meaning; nevertheless, they are actuated by an undue confidence in the court. Other petitioners are prompted by no other motive than revenge and should be prevented from bringing their wranglings into the court when it is possible to dispose of their complaints by other means.

The arraignment of children for accidental delinquency has, furthermore, been unfortunate in forcing police work upon probation officers. In some cities juvenile courts have virtually become children's police departments. That a great deal of good is done through such activity is not questioned, though it is doubtful if the benefits of such indiscriminate contact with large numbers of children is equal to the good which may be derived from conserving the officials' time for more intensive work with the a-typical child.

Unless some plan is adopted for sifting out cases so that only children who actually require the aid of the court are dealt with, the general value of the juvenile court movement will sooner or later be discounted.

Much relief may be secured in this connection through the assistance of men and women police. Such officers should be specially selected upon the basis of temperamental and moral qualifications for work among children. Their entire time should be given to the care of police complaints involving children and sufficient liberty should be given to enable them to adjust as many complaints in the children's homes as may be consistent with the interests of the child and the rights of society. All assignments of such police officers should issue from the police headquarters, and not from the probation officer of the court.

If such an arrangement is effected and its provisions sanely administered by the right sort of officers a long step will have been taken toward relieving the juvenile court of many unnecessary hearings. The delinquency department of the court cannot be administered on

educational principles unless its function is thus clearly defined and all proceedings instituted in conformity thereto.

No offending child should be brought to the court unless he is obviously in a delinquent state. A sporadic offense or accidental delinquency which stands out in contrast with the otherwise normal, wholesome conduct of the child, should not be considered a sufficient reason for placing him in the custody of the court, except he be without parental care sufficient to safeguard him. The juvenile court should be concerned with a state or condition of delinquency rather than with an act or offense committed in violation of the law.

When such a delinquent child, who is characterized by being in a state of moral instability, is brought into court the one all-important question to be asked and answered is: What made him bad?

The sort of an inquiry which the court makes in an effort to answer this question is a pre-eminent test of the administrative efficiency of the court. Until the question is answered correctly the court can give the child no more intelligent assistance than can a physician who attempts to treat a patient without accurate knowledge of the pathology underlying the ailment.

Basic Need of Diagnosis.

Students of juvenile delinquency are agreed that social relations account only in part for the irregularity in conduct which brings the children to our attention. The recidivist is constitutionally abnormal. We have been vaguely conscious of this fact from the outset of the juvenile court movement. Lately, however, the importance of the correlation of physical and mental weakness with abnormal conduct has been so well established by a number of diagnosticians who have worked systematically with court children that we may now speak of the relationship with confidence.

In presenting this paper based on the findings of these investigators it is not my intention so to overstate the influence of physical factors in the child's development as to minimize the importance of our social responsibilities. If this were to result I should consider the loss greater than any good which might possibly result from a wider recognition of the value of diagnosis. We find ourselves squarely confronted, however, with the necessity of looking beyond the social environment of many children who are regularly relapsing into delinquency. And the method of approach here described for the study of young offenders from the medical and psychological viewpoints, as well as the social, is amply justified.

The sphere of the physician, as well as the psychologist, is broadening. A stretch of the imagination is no longer required to see the relation between physical precocity and moral instability. The mind of a fourteen-year-old child ordinarily has not the judgment and power of inhibition sufficient to control a well-built body of one hundred and fifty pounds. A sturdy youngster recently baffled his teacher by an

occasional explosive jump from his chair which he faithfully resumed directly after getting on his feet. To pronounce his breach of discipline a product of naughtiness would hit far astray as compared with chorea to which his "jumps" were, in fact, related. A similar case was presented lately in which such starts were epileptic in origin.

Peripheral irritation is not always synonymous with pernicious iniquity though a physician may occasionally detect a relationship. The clinical results from the surgical treatment of adenoid growths, enlarged tonsils, and phimosis among young delinquent boys is one of the brightest chapters in our records.

Epilepsy as commonly known is universally regarded as a problem for the physician, but what shall be said of innumerable phenomena characteristic of psychic or masked forms, which render a victim momentarily irresponsible? Is there not here a pathology as vitally important in its relation to society as is the clearly-defined seizure which floors the unhappy sufferer.

Examples.

Eight years ago while associated with the Denver Juvenile Court the writer had under his supervision a boy with a pronounced neurotic constitution. The child was arrested several times for offenses due to violent temper. There was, at that time, no history of epileptic seizures, though the clinical picture was clearly suggestive of an epileptic base. The boy passed from under my observation until the present month. While preparing this paper, in Seattle, a three-year-old baby was brought in by the police with its little body badly bruised from blows received from its father. When the father came into court I recognized him at once as the former ward of the Denver Juvenile Court. Upon reviewing his history I learned that the epileptic attacks which were formerly regarded as mere spells of temper, and due to his neurotic constitution, have, since puberty, been increasingly severe, and typical in form. He ran away and was married when seventeen. Of three children born to him one died, and one is hydrocephalic. There would doubtless be many such revelations for us if we could follow up the history of delinquent children who pass through our hands and are forgotten in the grind of our over-crowded courts.

Innumerable psychoses bear out the contention that the psychologist and physician are pre-eminently needed for this work. Lately a seventeen-year-old boy who had burglarized a residence baffled the detective department of the Seattle police because the boy ignored the presence of money and innumerable valuables that lay exposed about the house and carried away only a single black velvet gown. It was not difficult for us to diagnose a remarkable case of fetichism. We sent the young man to the psychological clinic where my colleague, Dr. Stevenson Smith, secured a Freudian analysis and after a month's treatment turned the boy back to society a safer citizen than he would have been by any sort of punitive treatment.

The careful student of neuropathy is not infrequently the only person who may hope to analyze the causes underlying defective conduct.

In the correction of delinquency (as in the treatment of physical disease) a diagnosis, providing it be thoroughly comprehensive as regards social, physical, and mental pathology, is of prime importance. Without it juvenile cases are usually handled in a routine way, and the probation department becomes congested; and, if we acknowledge the truth, the results of the probation supervision are sometimes exceedingly discouraging. Students of the causative factors of delinquency know full well that the child who does not respond satisfactorily to probation treatment frequently fails to do so because of conditions which might readily have been located by a diagnostic inquiry preceding his appearance in court.

More or less of such preliminary study of the child has been done in every city since the inception of the juvenile court. Judges and probation officers have, here and there, analyzed the sources of a child's delinquency and have singled out physical and mental defects with some accuracy, in proportion to their power of discernment. Many such children who were fortunate enough to come under the observation of capable officials have been given the benefit of professional attention at the hands of physicians or psychologists who have always stood ready to aid them. But this unsystematic sifting by officers who usually have many other duties is merely a suggestion of what needs to be done scientifically for the good of every child who appears in court.

A legal provision for this sort of a diagnostic inquiry, preliminary to the hearing, may be found in nearly every juvenile court law. The statements vary from a brief provision that the probation officer shall inquire into the status of the child in his home and report the findings to the judge at the time of the hearing, to the comprehensive provision in the Washington juvenile court law, where it is defined that the probation officer "shall inquire into the antecedents, character, family history, environment, and cause of the dependency or delinquency of every alleged dependent or delinquent child."

The Scheme in Operation.

This preliminary investigation of a child and his environment and the making of a diagnosis of the causative pathology responsible for the delinquency must be done by specialists. In most juvenile courts the gathering of facts prior to the court hearing is done indiscriminately by the probation officers. In a few cities one officer is detailed to the exclusive work of making investigations. This is a move in the right direction. Such a person should be the best trained and most efficient officer of the court staff. There should be attached to every court one or more such persons who are especially qualified, by both personality and training, to analyze situations involving the child from the standpoint of social, physical, and mental pathology. Such diagnos-

ticians should be duly appointed probation officers and devote their entire time to the preliminary study of children awaiting hearing and the causes which underlie their wrong-doing.

The methods of the diagnostician will not differ essentially from those used by the trained officer who works systematically in the preparation of sociological reports. More time will be spent, however, in securing a developmental history by professional consultation with the child, his parents, and those who have had intimate contact with him. Also a varying amount of laboratory work will be required in making the physical and mental examination.

When a delinquent child is referred to the court by petition from the police or any other agency, the case should be promptly assigned to the diagnostician who should have the entire responsibility of making the preliminary investigation and study of the child.

The diagnostician should enter upon the study of a child in the same spirit as that in which a physician approaches a patient in his consultation room. His responsibility is to analyze the social, physical, and mental pathology which have made the child a moral deviate. The fact of the delinquent act will not greatly concern him except in so far as there is a correlation between the offense and the causative pathology. He will carefully bear in mind that the child is brought to the court for correction and that it will be impossible for the judge to intelligently provide the child with treatment unless he first knows what ails him.

The sources of information will vary with every case. He will receive from school authorities much valuable information concerning the social life and developmental record. Other persons who may be conversant with the child or conditions collateral to him will be consulted. And beyond these sources of information is the child himself and his parents. Here, of course, is the material with which we are chiefly concerned.

At the outset the parent must be put at ease. Every effort must be made to make it clear to the father or mother that we want only to give them professional co-operation in an attempt to find out why the child is doing wrong and to provide treatment which shall aid the most in his future development. Our attitude must be sympathetic. It must be professional. And, parenthetically, it is of interest to note that, notwithstanding the fact that advice frequently necessitates drastic action in the social, educational, and surgical treatment of children, the judges who have been aided by such professional diagnoses have enjoyed happier relations with parents who have been led to understand the kindly, educational attitude of the court through the professional approach of the diagnostician.

The attitude of the investigator towards the child himself is of equal importance. The child must be relieved of fear. This can be done only by a tactful, confidence-inspiring approach. To facilitate the work a consultation room should be provided, with instruments for

sensory examination and anthropometry. Aside from these few instruments, the physical and mental inquiry may be made by ordinary diagnostic methods. A carefully prepared written report of the findings should be presented to the court at the time of the hearing.

Abuse of Probation.

Conditions observed in most courts seem to indicate that not enough discrimination has been made in placing children on probation. The indiscriminate use of so good a method of treatment must inevitably bring it into disrepute. We need to classify with greater precision. Though we admit it were a foolish boast to assert that all the potentialities of a child may be so accurately measured in order that his future moral reactions may be predicted, yet, if the child's social environment is understood and the strength and weakness of his mental and moral nature known, there should be no difficulty in foretelling, with fair accuracy, whether or not he will respond satisfactorily. It is a real injustice to a child to sacrifice his time through ineffective probation supervision when his constitution requires institutional care. Conversely, the injustice is equally great when we consign to an institution a child who needs only the assistance of a constructive friend. The probation system is, admittedly, one of the most useful agencies for treatment at the disposal of the court. Its value, however, should not be overestimated.

Indiscriminate use of probation among children has many times resulted unfavorably to the child. Loosely compiled statistics have been published to show that probation has been successful in 95 per cent. of all cases. Such reports have never been based upon the number of children actually prevented from relapsing into delinquency, though the court may not have been called upon subsequently to deal with them. The probation officers who are doing most efficient work know very well that many of their wards are prone to backslide—sometimes relapsing so seriously as to jeopardize the officer's reputation among less sympathetic citizens who conclude that a probation order amounts to an insurance against further court action so long as occasional penitence keeps the officer's faith from becoming exhausted. On the other hand, children who superficially appear worse than they are at heart, are frequently committed to institutions. Such would be aided in a far better way by probation treatment.

Again, children who are accidentally delinquent are frequently not recognized as being so and are needlessly placed on probation. They are essentially of stable character, living in good homes. The supervision they receive is of no vital assistance to them, and the officer's time might better be devoted to other cases. It is probably true that thousands of such children who were placed on probation in the juvenile courts in America this year would have been benefited fully as much if they had been discharged after making all possible restitution for their offenses.

When probation care is applied to physical or mental defectives the results are satisfactory only in so far as the probation officer is able to provide the child with corrective treatment, and, of course, such treatment cannot be provided intelligently until a diagnosis has revealed the defects.

It is too much to expect that a court diagnostician shall make a thoroughgoing mental examination of every delinquent child. When an inquiry is made in behalf of three or more children each day, the volume of work is too great to permit of more than a general survey of the child and his environment and his classification in one or another clinical group. When a child presents an obscure pathology which would warrant intensive study a provisional diagnosis may be made by the court diagnostician and the child referred to a psychological clinic or to medical specialists for further study.

Summary.

To recapitulate. Society should, first of all, keep from the juvenile court those children who are only accidental offenders. The responsibility of the court in the care of delinquents should begin with the child who shows indications of becoming a chronic offender. He deserves more consideration than has thus far been given to him. He is an abnormal child.

Prior to his appearance before the judge the child should be the object of a careful diagnostic inquiry covering all social, physical, and mental factors in order that the sources of his wrong doing may be known. This work of preliminary investigation should be done by trained diagnosticians officially attached to the court under the provision for the appointment of probation officers.

With the assistance of such skilled preliminary studies the court should discriminate carefully in providing treatment.

To place a moral deviate on probation without first knowing what factors have made him unusual is obviously unjust to the probation officer and if, as is so often the case, he is one among eighty or a hundred other children on the officer's list, the injustice to the child is inexcusable.

There is no good reason why these principles may not be adopted in every court in America. There is no agency of the state which comes so directly in contact with the potential human waste as does the juvenile court, and it needs every available aid in its important work of conserving child life.

Families and Neighborhoods

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN VARIOUSLY SIZED CITIES.

Francis H. McLean, General Secretary National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity.

There remains for the supreme singer yet to come the lyric and the epic picturing of the spirit of our American communities. No more fascinating and noble task could be offered to any poet. For the unseeing who have ventured to speak of the dull, the commonplace, the drab of our American cities, always and unendingly the same, one can only have the deepest pity. "What could happen in Nashville?" was the query of a scoffing writer secure in his California and San Francisco. Taking up the challenge another great prose singer writes that dramatic classic of a story under that most commonplace of titles, "A Municipal Problem," showing what could happen.

And even that does not exhaust Nashville's dramatic possibilities, her seething hot-headed politics, her army of Southern young men and women really battling for an education and carrying the influence of this mighty Athens to far distant plains and mountains, the tragedy of the liberally educated negro. What could happen in Nashville? Anything might happen, much, much has happened.

My thoughts turn to another city, not old and hoary like Nashville but far out on the frontier on a gradually expanded oasis, irrigation-and-man-made, in the Arizona desert, and gradually coming to know itself, settled by families driven here because of the health of one or another of their members, permanently exiled indeed, but gayly turning to the making of a city as beautiful as the most beautiful of mirages. But nevertheless to be driven from its materialism, very gorgeous but still a materialism, to a right social spirit.

Right at the foot of Colorado's mountains there lies another frontier city bewildering in its array of social organizations, amusingly presenting because of its unusual wealth and its real and true leisure class, all the aspects of a city of 200,000 though it has only 30,000.

Somewhat more sombre is this farming community in a populous mid-western state where courageous women are struggling against an archaic thing, the survival of the idea that a man's children are his own exclusive property no matter of what moral turpitude they may be victims. I cannot conceive of any more wonderfully varied thing than the spirit and characteristic attitudes of our American cities, nor of anything which more profoundly affects social programs.

Before I undertook the field work I had in my head the idea of the probable development to be found in cities say between 20,000 and 30,000, between 30,000 and 40,000. Taking off one institution or society here and there but finding essential harmony. There is no such harmony anywhere to be found in our American cities of any size. Long since has that vain image gone glimmering as the full significance of the tremendous personality of these communities has been appreciated. I can fit you to anything in any sized city.

The Alternatives.

I suppose that if we had a clear slate in a given American city we could sit down and plan out an ideal social development, this society now formed, this activity now undertaken, this public department now organized, this bit of legislation or improved administration now campaigned for, this education of the community now projected and so on. Indeed I have sometimes amused myself with considering what would be a logical social growth, taking into consideration the primary instincts of mankind. But the trouble is that not logic but a complex of cause and effect as complicated as human life itself is responsible for what is today. The man with his pet panacea for all social evils, nowhere is placed in a more ridiculous light than when he gets out of the narrow environment of the small group of cities he knows and attempts to apply his ideas to all American communities. No one can breathe the atmosphere of 100 different American cities without realizing the amazingly different compounds of the larger social forces.

The economic, the moral, the health, the educational forces form complexes of almost bewildering variety. There are communities in which moral ignorance and conjunctive mental weakness indicate so plainly the need above all else of individual regeneration that the environment has not a foot to stand on. But the regenerationist would find in another city that his plan and scope would figure in far different proportions and in far different ways, in the face of some overwhelming health problems. It may be said that there are some almost universal problems but to no one of these, and I do not attempt to here enumerate them, can exactly the same position of relative importance be assigned—their place cannot be marked off as definitely as the alignment between the parts of a finely adjusted machine. Thus tuberculosis completely overshadows any other possible problem in some of our southwestern health resorts. But even here its relative importance is not always the same. It is a far different proposition in Phoenix, Arizona, than in Los Angeles, with its tremendous agricultural and tourist interests. In Los Angeles tuberculosis shares equal importance with a recreational and a juvenile development movement. But in Phoenix the treatment of the non-resident overshadows other necessary social development. It is a far newer city than Los Angeles, that is, newer in the modern sense.

Thus we have attempted to present not only the broad divergencies in the spirits of our American communities but also the broad divergen-

cies in their social state at any given time. Apparently, therefore, I have been leading up to what sort of conclusion? Surely nothing could be more cheerfully individualistic than the hap-hazzard way in which, in our American communities, different groups of social workers start a varied patchwork of endeavors which bear no resemblance to any consistent plan. Do all the variations in community spirit and in community condition point to just this sort of rainbow patterning? No, that is not our recommendation. These two things, spirit and condition, are to be thought of in "variable" terms whenever any one of us is asked for advice regarding another city. My field experience has often plainly revealed lack of appreciation of this, especially when advising from a distance. There are cities with a splendid daring, there are others which by homeopathic stages must be gently guided along the line of progress. There is the city which is calmly assured that it has the best of every kind of social effort and the city which is quite sure that nothing will ever succeed. There is the city intensely jealous of the standing of its own social workers which is quite sure it can stand alone, where only a few of the wiser ones can gently inject ideas from the experience of other places.

Adaptations to What Is.

We shall now consider rather concretely the adapting of our program to whatever is now existing and should not be completely destroyed. In a city of 40,000 there had been such a shower of new organizations that contrary to all precedent for that sized place, a central council has been strongly urged.

Thus in Arizona communities the absence of any institutions for children and a very well developed dislike of careless placing out, occasioned by the mistake of an Eastern agency in sending a company of children to a group of Greaser families, and the very great desire to build well from the start, makes it possible to propose a state regulation of placing and the building of temporary homes only.

Thus the marked under-development of health departments with impossibly small budgets in our middle west and Missouri Valley sections requires that not only should public health education be given first place but it must be inaugurated on a far more primary basis than in other sections. It is not a presentation of per capita comparisons with other cities but a preaching of the gospel that a health department is a little more important than a dog pound.

It is of moment to note that in more than one place the first bit of social development came in connection with the treatment of homeless men. This, too, in communities which are on the frontier. To pass this perfectly natural development by as an inconsequential thing, in our zeal to get at apparently more important tasks, is to grossly underappreciate our situation, is to totally misunderstand it and to hamper rather than aid. It is absolutely necessary to see what partially realized

social need is behind every modest movement. It may be spontaneous, alive, it may hark back to tradition.

Diverted Utilizations.

In connection with adaptations there comes up the question of diverted utilizations of existing social agencies. The social weal of our American communities does not need the mere zealot, impatient of others endeavors, full of sneers for modest efforts, anxious to be the iconoclast. Just now the iconoclast happens to occupy the center of the stage, there is fine contempt for everything which is not of the vintage of 1913, but we are simply passing through an extreme stage. Certainly the iconoclast is least needed, can be most easily dispensed with in the field of social development in the greater number of our American cities. There must be, there, a fine discrimination of the dormant spirit and possibilities in every social agency and a patient willingness to flower it out no matter how long it takes, even if half its methods are wrong, provided there is a willingness to do the right thing.

Thus I remember a large working-girls' club, with club house and equipment, under aristocratic guidance, which was perfectly willing to take up the question of wages of girls, which heretofore it had not concerned itself with. A developing work with families was worked out of a children's committee of a civic league. In the same way a housing and a family rehabilitation and social service society was organized out of a perfectly useless civic organization of business men.

The Third Variable To Be Better Controlled.

What is in existence in social organizations, if reasonably sound, but becoming old and ragged, should be adapted to new uses whenever possible. Economize the good that is in them. But there is another variable: the plans and the ideals of people for the social development of tomorrow. Here there should be, must be, better control than in the past. The frightful costs of the *laissez faire* policy in unevenly balanced social organizations are around us everywhere. There are societies which should not have been organized, there are houses which should never have been built. There has been the cost of fruitless movements, there has been the heavy undone work. It is not a matter which may be corrected in a day, that Pittsburgh has almost as many rescue homes as Chicago, which is three times as large; that any number of cities are overstocked with homes for children, thus discouraging any placing out work; that three weak settlements exist in a certain city where there should be only one strong one at present though eventually there is need of three; that in a city of 30,000 it seemed quaintly necessary to set down two neighborhood centers within five blocks of each other. That in a comparatively poor and small city the cost of a day nursery elaborately run and welcoming all who applied, practically overshadowed all other possible social development; that the provision of public baths as the prime factor in the mental, moral and physical and environmental

regeneration of an alien race, completely obsessed otherwise competent observers, to the exclusion of all other forms of service; in another city, that the roll call would reveal a remarkably large number of dead organizations, started before their time, started by the wrong people, started in the wrong way, that, alas, is a record which we all know only too well.

While therefore we have the two variables, spirit and conditions, we must rule and govern the third variable, our social outlook, yours and mine, become definitely committed to orderly working out of our plans. In other words, there is something more than individual initiative required; there must be social initiative. It is not because you or I want something done, but because that something is to others evidently needed and needed right at once and needed before other things, and is possible of accomplishment, that is why it should be undertaken. Here we come to the very idea of a social program. A social program is something more than your program or my program; it is a joint program among differently interested people who will work together. It is a finer sort of co-operation than we have been used to in the past.

The Central Council Idea.

I shall not follow this idea out so far as it involves the highly organized city which is turning towards the central council idea. In that movement, as Mr. O'Connor will show us, we have the first attempts towards united social programs. So far scarcely more than co-operative working has been developed and though this in itself has justified their existence, still the higher function must be attained where there will be greater subordination of individual purposes. Thus in one central council city last fall the community was completely overwhelmed by a too large number of financial appeals for new enterprises. I shall not be satisfied until that council by moral control is helping constructive growth by limiting it. The difficulties of moral control are of course greater as the size of the city increases.

Rather I should like to start from the other end and consider the social program from the viewpoint of the smaller city and build up from the less complicated.

Leadership.

In the first place, no matter what the size of a community, it is idle to talk about a community program unless in addition to even the best kind of volunteers we have some paid leadership available. I recall an incident of last winter's campaign when in a certain rural community it was proposed that all that was lacking for the making of a program was affiliation of the local woman's club with the state federation. Now, neither any group of volunteers nor any state federation, no matter how good, are in themselves able to make or carry out a real local program. Social tasks may be carried out, many things may be done but in order to really know the weak and the good, the things beneath the surface, the relative importance of the problems there found, the con-

stant, persistent, steady, day-to-day work with all sorts of problems, all the fund of daily experience which finally makes the person we call a professional; this is absolutely required, and nothing will take its place. All else is not mere play, it is true, but it cannot possess the same attributes of steadiness as when someone who knows, who is constantly on the job, is behind. The lack of leadership is liable to lead to fundamental mistakes and to a necessarily partial view. For instance, in the growth of new agencies it sometimes happens that a community, hitherto undeveloped, will imagine that it can pass over certain stages and forgets some of the primarily necessary work. Possibly one of the most absurd theories of this sort came not from a community but from a highly specialized group of experts blinded by their own expertness, that group of rural development people who have claimed that rural social progress may be complete without a constant consideration of the subnormal. That theory will soon be laughed out of court.

The Ground Work.

Just as important it is that a strong and fundamental ground work has been formed and will always be maintained. Any scheme of development which does not provide for daily contact with the neglected family, the neglected child, the neglected neighborhood and sickness, is inevitably cutting off its leaders from the largest reservoir, not the only one, it is true, but the largest reservoir of fact for their work, and it is a trite saying that the helping hand is just as necessary in the individual case as in a broad community program if we are going to have real community development. The very establishment of a family rehabilitation society, a probation system and a district nursing society, sometimes combined into one scheme in a city of less than 10,000, requires the skilled leadership to begin with because these are among the most difficult fields to work in. It must be recognized that they are not specialized but generic fields in which whatever specialization comes later may gain by whatever has been worked out, has been learned, has been developed.

By following the history of community movements a little further there will be revealed an impatience to pass from the individual to the mass and leave the individual entirely behind. There has been more or less loose thinking on this particular question. But do not let any community attain to the idea that the future holds less of the individual case in it than before. Within the last few years in the educational field, there has been made the discovery that even in our public school system we have been traveling along on mass theories so long that we are liable to lose sight of the individual scholar altogether. Here is one of the gravest dangers in connection with social programs in a great many cities. Anything which means individual treatment always means costly processes. It is much easier, and cheaper, to present a glorified pipe dream of what a city should be with everything labeled, "This is a large movement," than it is to be grubbing along with the specific ills of various and sundry humble individuals in various relationships.

Special investigations covering individual instances, such as those in the field of women's work, for instance, are correspondingly costly. But the trouble is that the dream does become a pipe dream before we know it if we do not have the other. The vain struggling, inadequately backgrounded social program reminds me of a well remembered instance where the secretary of an organization going into a child welfare exhibit plan wildly besought me for more subjects to cover. No more absurd reversal of cause and effect could be imagined. The project had been taken up as a need in this particular city and it was a need along certain specific lines and yet here was this groping around as to what to cover. That should have been definitely in mind before it was decided that this was the next project which should be taken up, and the ground to be covered should have been a blazed ground largely.

A Series of Sequences.

Going back to the original question, I trust my meaning is clear. No matter what the size of a city may be and no matter how few its leaders, there can be no question of the need of definite programming. By that I do not mean the setting down of a series of things to be done, but a series of things to be done in sequences based upon spirit, present conditions and immediate possibilities. No series of rules of action can be set down for the general application. I have indicated there is no scheme of logic which will point out the theoretical way, but it is straight individual treatment, there is no logical way. But that the way must be pointed out, of that there is no question. Especially at this time when imitation has become almost a craze in the social field is there need of its correction by the steadying effect of thought-out social planning, always subject to change but presenting always coherency and connection. A political upheaval may suddenly turn a slow-going gathering of facts regarding the non-enforcement of a sanitary code, into a rapid fire agitation for immediate consideration of change by the new administration. This may in turn compel the temporary retirement of a project for fighting for a paid probation officer, because three things cannot be carried on at one time and a tuberculosis propaganda has just been undertaken as a necessary thing and it must be the second.

In a city of 40,000 a three-year program of the associated charities as the central agency, started with the organization of a tuberculosis nursing dispensary and educational work, a housing investigation leading to a strong ordinance, a charities endorsement scheme, a fight for a sane Fourth of July, a special national development through a national society for immigrants, the influencing the churches through their national organizations towards certain laws of important co-operation, a quiet investigation of commercialized vice, the results of which are to be turned over to the chamber of commerce for it to mull over and fight at, and fortification in a license campaign. In an even smaller city the first four years of work included the repression of street begging, a campaign for a playground center, a housing and sane Fourth

of July campaign, and various kinds of movements in the following directions: truancy, commercialized vice, medical inspection, infant welfare, sociological library, school gardens, development in juvenile court improvement and non-support laws. In a university town of 10,000 in its first year of work a society had so far developed a sort of emergency program that it had effected the organization of a special survey committee, the organization of a university "friends-to-boys" group, a housing investigation. It was revealed in the case of five cities varying from 10,000 to 60,000, all with trained leaders, that twenty-four separate activities were represented in their five programs. Housing campaigns were found in all five, tuberculosis campaigns in four, truancy in two, commercialized vice in two, charities endorsement in two, juvenile court in two, playground in two. Each of the other seventeen activities were found in only one, which shows a pretty fine degree of individualization. While all of these societies had not as clearly worked out their programs as they should, still there was definiteness and coherence to be found in what they took up, a certain order of sequences based upon all of the factors I have before alluded to.

Flexibility of Organization.

In cities large enough to have many specialized agencies the development of a co-operative social program requires a central council. In smaller cities where few specialized agencies are possible there is the greater need of the society with a general outlook. It is for that reason that everywhere the fight has been for a general social agency, with family rehabilitation as one of its tasks but with community organization on the social side as its other. What such organizations should be called is a matter of indifference to us, whether civic leagues or social service leagues or civic improvement leagues or personal service leagues or associated charities. We have furthermore urged the undertaking of a committee system of development in many of the smaller cities whereby specialized activities may be added as the opportunity opens up instead of organizing new societies. While we have seen very remarkable adaptations of specialized agencies to cover other work in cities under 100,000 we are impelled to think, more and more as time goes on, that there must always be that society which has the perfectly general outlook of the family and the community, and nothing else to start with. And as already indicated in our rural communities these general organizations may have to go into the civic field also. There can be no greater degree of flexibility in organization.

What we have said in the preceding paragraph is not intended to indicate that where there may seem to be an opportunity, a real and timely possibility a specialized movement should not be established. For if it has any vitality in it at all it will inevitably point the way to the more general organization.

A Private Agency.

This then is my plea. We must each in our own appointed fields of service urge the correction of the weaknesses apparent in the work of other agencies, but at the same time recognize all of the sincerity and truth which they contain. We must dig down to be one with our particular community, to catch its essential spirit. We must win, all fighting any sensible fight in a comradery of spirit which shall enable us to travel along parallel paths, not one seeking the bog, the other the mountain, but advancing as a line of skirmishers, which we but rarely do. There is no set formula. Nor is it merely the championship of right as we see it but a mutual forbearance and mutual understanding towards right compromises, towards steady co-ordinated development; towards a fineness of spirit and a splendor of results, which can only then come.

THE CENTRAL COUNCIL.*

J. J. O'Connor, Secretary Associated Charities, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Following the original idea of the Committee, this paper has been given a somewhat broader scope than the title in the printed announcement, "Programs in Central Council Cities," would indicate. It would more properly be called a discussion of "The Central Council as a Means of Co-ordination of Philanthropic Endeavor."

I.

The Problem of the Co-ordination of Philanthropic Endeavor.

The idea of co-operation is older than the idea of philanthropy itself. Many students seem to think that the word has a peculiar meaning to social workers. That is true. To co-operate, literally means to work together. To social workers, perhaps more than to any other class, co-operation means constant team work, good, constant team work, frequently at considerable personal sacrifice. To many of them the word connotes a real social force.

In many communities today this thing, co-operation, is the only working connection, if indeed there be any, between the collection of assorted charities, assorted laws and other assorted agencies which have been set in opposition to the problems of needy humanity—to the problems involved in social readjustment.

But what varying ideas there are as to what constitutes co-operation, good co-operation! In most communities the situation, as another speaker has said, is still much like the situation that exists in China.

*It is with regret that this valuable paper is published in incomplete form on account of not receiving copy of the latter portion before the forms were closed.

"There are several agencies willing to co-operate providing the rest will co-operate according to the individual preferences of the one, and the individual or agency to be co-operated upon has very little to say." In these communities, and there are many, the lack of co-operation, the unwillingness to pull together, causes much waste and much unnecessary suffering among the poor.

It is not enough for social agencies to refrain from saying disagreeable things about each other. It is not enough for them to make agreements dividing certain onerous tasks, such as investigation. In fact, too long has co-operation between members of charitable organizations meant nothing more than a "feeling of cordiality," frequently a feigned cordiality. Too long has it meant only an agreement to "shinny on one's own side," to keep off each other's field. Too long have communities' social forces been "loosely linked assortments of institutions."

Every community contains organizations with narrow conceptions of their functions. There are narrow-minded organizations as there are narrow-minded individuals. Quite generally has it become recognized that individuals as individuals cannot work as effectively in the interest of the poor and unprivileged as individuals working through organizations. But organizations are slow to recognize that individual organizations cannot work as effectively for those same interests as co-operative, consultative organizations, components of the organized charitable equipment of the community.

Is prevention necessary? Is the prevention of the waste of human energy and life, caused by friction or failure of adjustment of community social programs necessary? That question hardly needs an answer. It not only is necessary, but it is recognizedly imperatively necessary. If prevention is necessary, co-operation to secure it then is imperative. There is contained in this single statement of the problem of the prevention of social waste a challenge to social service, to all social workers, to the profession.

If we examine this problem of the elimination or prevention of social waste, we find that it may be stated to be the problem of the elimination of human energy waste, of the waste of human life, wholly or in part, due to accident, disease, pauperism and crime; of the elimination of the human energy waste involved in ill-distributed and often wasted service, a frequently careless industrial system, fruitless lawmaking, bungled administration, social education and training unworthy of the name, and a social service system largely interested in immediate needs, but often dull to essentials.

By means of co-operative social endeavor only may this challenge be met, may our preventive programs be made successful. Constantly augmented mutual effort on the part of all sections of society has long been recognized as the highest ideal of charity, in the broadest meaning of the word.

If we examine the problem from a slightly different angle, we find in the conditions existing in American cities today, large and small, other

indications of the need for co-operative social endeavor, or to use a more meaningful and descriptive term, charitable solidarity. Let us take a few examples:

Exemplified in Chicago.

Mr. Eugene T. Lies, General Superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago, has said that in Chicago at the present time there are estimated to be 2600 social agency entities. Thirty-one are public departments, and 2,568 are under private auspices. Included in this last figure are 1,156 churches, 802 religious societies, 89 asylums, 73 hospitals, 27 dispensaries, 21 temperance agencies and 400 relief and miscellaneous organizations. The number of relief and miscellaneous organizations is based upon 150 agencies reported and endorsed by the Chicago Association of Commerce, 100 neighborhood associations and 150 other organizations.

Exclude, if you desire, 40 per cent. of those listed. There remain over 1500 agencies which are attempting some kind of constructive social endeavor. Springfield, Mass., with a population of 89,000, has over 35 social agencies, not including churches. New Britain, Conn., with a population of 33,000, has 27 social agencies, excluding churches. Youngstown, Ohio, with a population of 79,000, has 22 organizations, excluding churches.

Many others might be listed. In these communities, and in smaller and larger ones, with agencies in proportion, some pertinent questions may be asked. What is being done for the conservation of social service? Are all the agencies in these cities needed? Is there not some "whirling in futile motion"? Are there not duplications among them?

"Are good ones working and planning together?" asks Mr. Lies, with respect to the Chicago situation, but his questions and observations are applicable here, "planning to a nicety in each other's hands, all for the community's good? Are all of them striving for greater efficiency according to highest standards or are most of them oblivious to the existence of standards? Are new organizations or governmental departments being called into existence needlessly, wastefully, as the result of unwise propaganda and effort of ignorant, inexperienced or unprincipled persons?"

"These questions," says Mr. Lies, "have a serious implication in reference to the life, health, efficiency and happiness of the people, rich and poor, of every community."

We find that in addition to the growth in the number and kind of social agencies being called into existence daily in the land the increasing problem of the growth of American cities in area and cosmopolitan population has an important bearing on this problem of the elimination of social waste, through the conservation of social service energy, the co-ordination of philanthropic endeavor.

"In the memory of living man," says Prof. J. Paul Good, of the University of Chicago, "Chicago has risen from a struggling village sunk

in the mud of a prairie creek to a great metropolis, ranking fifth in the world's greatest cities. It now has within its borders in the neighborhood of two and one-half million people. It is increasing at the rate of from 50,000 to 75,000 per year, and is likely to have at the end of the century ten millions of people." The Chicago situation may be said to be unusual, but comparison of the three last Federal Censuses shows that American *cities* have their cosmopolitan populations spread over large territories.

The last census shows that there is an influx of people from our rural communities to the cities, as well as from foreign countries. Our urban population increased from 40.5 per cent. of the entire population in 1900 to 46.3 per cent. in 1910; or to put it in another way, our rural population decreased from 55.9 per cent. of the whole to 53.7 per cent., a difference of 5.8 per cent.

In the New England states more than four-fifths of the entire population live in urban territory; seven-tenths in the Middle Atlantic and more than one-half in the Eastern, North Central and Pacific divisions. The South generally shows much smaller proportion of urban population, ranging according to divisions of the South, from 18 per cent. to 25 per cent. Just what proportion of the increase in the urban population is due to immigration and what proportion to change of residence from country to city, is not indicated, but we know both are contributing to the growth of our American cities. The movement of our native population contributes in a smaller degree, perhaps, than immigration.

The census shows that of the foreign-born whites who reported their arrival as 1890 or earlier, 68.1 per cent. resided in urban communities, while those who reported their arrival as after January 1, 1901, 77.6 per cent. resided in urban communities, which indicates the contribution of the immigrant to the increase in urban population is not lessening.

In any American city which we might use as an example, the presence of groups of people from every part of the world, "each group with its individual, distinctive tendencies, of thought and life, its own ideas about education, religion, morals and government. and each expressing these tendencies and ideas in more or less concrete ways in its everyday activities, makes for extremely varied forms of human endeavor and calls for a great variety of methods of approaching to their own needs whether by private agencies or governmental."

This growth of American cities and the complexity of the group element of their population has led to the conception of the city of our time as either "the storm center of civilization" or "the hope of democracy," according to the point of view. The cities create great problems, industrial, social and moral, and attempts at their solution lead to the development of the numbers of assorted agencies referred to above.

Further development of this theme is hardly necessary. Very little, in fact, need be said to the experienced social worker to indicate the present pressing and quickly increasing need for some co-ordinator of

social service activities, some eliminator of social service waste, some developer of effective charity, some corrector of defective charity, some method of making eccentric charity concentric.

II.

Description of Central Council.

What is a Central Council? It is a council or loose federation of social service agencies of a community (city or county), with one or more representatives from each component.

What is its purpose? The purpose of a Central Council is to pass upon new developments in the general charitable field and upon the problems of the relations of each organization to the other; to provide a democratic medium through which the co-operation of all agencies may be effected, thereby co-ordinating the several agencies. It may at once plan and organize combined efforts for social betterment, may promulgate standards of efficiency in several different fields of social endeavor.

What is it not? It is not an amalgamation of societies and has no idea of a central fund from which all societies shall draw their resources.

The following diagram of the Central Council is suggested as a companion piece to the classic diagram of forces the worker engaged in family rehabilitation work must keep in mind, which Miss Mary E. Richmond exhibited at the National Conference of Charities and Correction about twelve years ago.

You will remember her diagram of six concentric circles, the smaller or inner being (A), family forces; second one (B), personal forces; the third one (C), neighborhood forces; the fourth one (D), civic forces; the fifth one (E), private charitable forces; the sixth, or outer one (F), public relief agencies. You will remember her analysis of these forces:

Analysis:

A. Family Forces—Capacity of each member for affection, training, endeavor and social development.

B. Personal Forces—Kindred and friends.

C. Neighborhood Forces—Neighbors, landlords, tradesmen, employers, physicians, fraternal and benefit societies, clubs, fellow workmen, thrift agencies, building and loan associations, etc.

D. Civic Forces—School teachers, truant officers, police magistrates, police, probation officers, reformatories, health department, sanitary inspectors, factory inspectors, baths, etc.

E. Private Charitable Forces—The charity organization society, the church denomination, benevolent individuals, national special and general relief agencies, charitable employment agencies and workrooms, fresh air societies, children's aid societies, children's homes, nurses, dispensaries, hospitals, prisoners' aid societies, etc.

F. Public Relief Forces—Almshouses, outdoor poor department. and public hospitals and dispensaries.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SURVEYS.

Shelby M. Harrison, Director Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

As a tool for community betterment, the social survey is a recent invention. Like most other inventions, necessity figured as an important and immediate antecedent. So also did the discovery of means at hand by which a part, at least, of the necessity could be met. In other words, back of the social survey are a number of important causal facts: *First*, the fact of important changes in the relationships between people—particularly in the last few decades—creating new community needs and problems; *second*, the fact of scientific advances that have made possible some measure of solution of the new problems; *third*, the present emphasis put upon socializing our knowledge, experience and service—in other words, the present and growing demand that all forces and agencies should minister (and efficiently) to human needs; and *fourth*, the recognition that social problems are complex and often reach in many directions.

On the first point—recent changes in relationships between people—a ready sample is found in the rapid growth of cities in the last few decades. Villages in farming districts, for instance, where everybody knew everybody else, where the pulpit had long been the chief or only influence in moulding public opinion, where the air was free from factory smoke, where the water supply was not endangered by sewerage system or garbage dump, where sunlight and building space were plenty—these villages, in forty years, have leaped into the stature of *cities* with many of the more difficult problems of sanitation, health, housing, industrial relations, recreation, civic improvement, and so on. It was not so long ago that the scattered looms and spinning wheels which were in reality the mere exceptions that proved the rule of an agricultural era—that these were gathered together under great factory roofs where a single, giant piston could drive the machines for a thousand men. In answer to the new call to industry and trade, workmen find themselves shoulder to shoulder in the factories and big distributing plants and crowded elbow to elbow in adjacent tenements. The change to centralized work unaccompanied either by adequate city planning or sufficient development in transportation facilities was one of the forces that led directly to cramped housing conditions in the industrial centers, and to other of the many problems that go with population congestion. The change to centralized work has also, of necessity perhaps, destroyed the old personal contact of employer and employe and rendered individual acquaintance and mutual understanding difficult.

Moreover, recent years have seen women by multitudes enter industry—some by preference—but many through an economic necessity,

which, in the case of wives and mothers, has tended to shatter the unity of the home and subject children to the hazards of the street. The services furnished by the municipality have tended to broaden and increase, thus making it still more important that public funds be economically spent and that the service be efficient. The use of iron and steel has made possible the building of still higher sky-scrapers and has thus put new burdens upon transportation and housing facilities. And the number of foreign immigrants has increased tremendously. In the last decade the absolute number of immigrants, coming, as they do from all the corners of Europe, Africa, Asia and the islands of the sea, and bringing with them varied habits, hopes, traditions, purposes and prejudices, reached a million a year.

These are tremendous changes—changes which introduce new problems into community life that call for new study and analysis, in order that, among others, we may learn whether the old machinery for individual and community improvement is fitting the new needs.

New Problems with Growth of City Life.

Specific illustrations of these new problems which have their roots in changed social conditions are abundant. Forty-one years ago, for instance, the gentle valley in the Alabama foothills of the Appalachian mountains on which the city of Birmingham now stands, was a splendid patchwork of cotton fields—but the discovery of iron ore, soft coal, and limestone in close proximity to the valley, in little more than a generation, turned cotton fields into a metropolitan district of nearly 150,000 people. The quick industrial growth with its business opportunities was so engrossing that a collateral development of civic and social institutions was neglected; and many incongruities grew up in the city. For example, the sheriff of the county still receives his remuneration through fees for arrests, and for other official acts—a custom which has usually worked well in rural communities where the duties of the sheriff are not important enough to warrant paying him a salary, but which invariably leads to grave abuses in populous centers. Thus well informed citizens of Birmingham two years ago estimated that the income of the sheriff's office was from $50,000 to $80,000 a year—an amount entirely out of proportion to its demands; and the feeling was strong in the county that many unnecessary and unjust arrests were made in order to pile up fees for the sheriff. *And*, as if to add to this incongruity, it was found that these persons unnecessarily arrested were placed in jails, many of which were little more than disease-breeding detention cages—that prison life was unsupervised further than to make convicts work out certain daily tasks—that gross abuses existed behind the prison walls, that prisoners were allowed to continue gambling and some other of the very practices which put them behind the bars, and that no constructive work was being done to refit men to come back as safe members of society. Alabama found its prisons not schools for reform, but schools for crime. Thus the forty

years of change brought new problems and added new complications to the old.

Another case: Back fifty years and more, it was not regarded as a very serious matter in Syracuse, New York, to allow the tracks of a steam railroad to run for a mile or more through one of the public streets of the *city;* but today, with the city grown to 140,000 people, with office buildings and retail stores flanking the street on both sides, with increasing traffic back and forth across this street, and with varying numbers of its citizens killed every year by some of the fifty passenger trains that daily run through the street—the city has come to realize that it has an urgent grade crossing problem on its hands.

Again, forty years ago, the city of Pittsburgh found it comparatively safe to pump its drinking water out of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, and thence, unfiltered, to the tables of its citizens; but the building of industrial plants above the intakes in the rivers, and the location of cities up the stream from Pittsburgh, which dumped their sewage into the water, so polluted the supply that Pittsburgh's typhoid death rate was among the highest of any cities in the country—over five times as high as that of a few which were considered average good. Other things besides the bad water supply contributed to the high rate; but it seems significant that almost immediately following the recent completion of a seven million dollar filtration plant, the typhoid death rate dropped over half, and today the city has no more typhoid than the average American city.

Another Pittsburgh example: In 1867, for purposes of city taxation, all real estate was divided into three classes; the first was called "agricultural land" and was required to pay only one-half the tax rate prevailing in its ward; the second was called "rural," paying two-thirds the rate; and the third was called "full city," and paid the full rate. This tax classification dated back to a time when the boundaries of Pittsburgh were enlarged, taking in parts of five adjacent townships—back fifty years, when electric cars, telephones, and electric lights were unknown, and when you could count on your fingers the American cities having any adequate sewerage or water systems distributing their services over large city areas. It was therefore deemed fair to discriminate in favor of farm and rural property not sharing fully in city lighting, policing, fire protection and public health work. In other words, land classification was a measure designed to meet a specific condition. The condition changed, however, with the growth of the city, but discriminations remained on the statute books until last year. The almost unavoidable result was that whole districts similarly located and otherwise much alike, were bearing grossly unequal tax burdens—some property paying more than three times as much as others; and curiously enough, the low rates were paid almost entirely by those most able to bear their full tax—i. e., owners of large buildings and expensive residences, while the *high rates* had fallen upon small business realty, small residences, and congested tenement neighborhoods. A year ago this

tax anomaly was revealed by one of the investigations of The Pittsburgh Survey, and, incidentally, it is interesting to note that public-spirited citizens in Pittsburgh immediately induced the legislature to pass a new law which went into effect January 1st, 1912, and thereby eliminated the old tax disproportions.

Increase of Scientific Knowledge.

So much for the changes which have brought new problems. The *second* fact back of the spread of surveys has been the development of scientific means for dealing with the new problems. A process not only significant but singularly hopeful has been going on. A few illustrations may be cited. Take for instance the development in the field of sociology. It was as late as the middle of the eighteenth century that a member of the British Parliament opposed the bill providing for a general census, for two reasons—first, because such a census would reveal the military weakness of England; and second, because it would be a presumption upon the work of God. Since then we have gone a long way. We have not only enumerated the individuals of a whole nation and of its subdivisions, but *their traits* and *tendencies*—the number and distribution of births, deaths, marriages and divorces—in fact the enumeration has included something on nearly all phases of social, economic, physical and parental conditions affecting the welfare of the individual and society. Quite aside from the question as to whether or not we yet have a science of sociology, this process of fact gathering has gone on until we *do* have a body of information and experience that is of great practical value in attacking current social problems.

Similarly, great strides have been made in sanitation and public health. A little over a year ago, I had occasion to visit Swinburne Island at the lower end of New York Bay, where incoming passengers suffering from the more serious contagious diseases, such as yellow fever, cholera, leprosy, small-pox, etc., are detained in quarantine. In the course of the visit the ashes of a man who died of yellow fever in the Spanish-American war were seen. The body had been brought to New York for burial, but it was refused entrance into the city and, therefore, cremated at Quarantine. One of the island physicians stated that many scientists are now convinced that there is practically no danger in bringing into port as far north as New York for burial a victim of yellow fever; and he used this case as an illustration of the great additions to the science of public health that have been made in the dozen or more years since the Spanish war. Similar increases in knowledge for the prevention of typhoid, tuberculosis, the various diseases of infants and so on, are too well known to need illustration.

The same process has been going on in the field of economics. It was almost coincident with the beginning of this turnover from an agricultural to, at least, a *partial* industrial life that the first scientific treatise on economics appeared. But since Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" there has grown not only a broad general science of economics but a large

number of specialized phases, such as the science of public finance, the science of taxation, auditing and accounting, and business administration.

Still another development has been in the field of education. An excellent example of what has been going on here is found in the recent study of spelling vocabularies made by Dr. Leonard P. Ayres, Director of the Division of Education, Russell Sage Foundation. The study covered two thousand short letters ranging from the business letters of mail order houses, newspapers, publishing firms, practicing physicians and lawyers, to a varied collection of love letters—i. e., it covered the types that the average person might have occasion to write. From these letters, nearly 24,000 words were tabulated and classified, with these results: out of the 24,000 words, enough were used over a number of times so that the total number of individual words employed was only 2001. Further it was found that out of the 2001 words, 43 words were used so often as to constitute one-half the aggregate number of words tabulated and that 542 words constituted seven-eighths of the entire 24,000 used. When it is remembered that some spelling books used in the intermediate grades of many cities include from ten to fifteen thousand words and that some of these 542 words were not to be found in the book, the inference seems strong that our spelling system is out of joint with present needs. While Dr. Ayres prefers not to draw final conclusions from this study, he does state that the result strongly suggests the desirability of discovering through careful investigations which are the words people most commonly need to know how to spell, and of teaching those words first and thoroughly. This is but one of the many studies made in recent years, the results of which represent new and valuable additions to the science of education.

Surveys Apply New Knowledge to New Problems.

If time permitted the illustrations might be carried further, for there are plenty of samples in the development of implements for dealing with the problems of philanthropy, criminology, penology, and so forth. The forty years of history of the National Conference of Charities and Correction is illustration enough of the growth of scientific knowledge in these fields. Here, then, are two great forces contemporaneously at work. One is a process of change that has brought new problems calling for solution. The other is a great growth of helpful scientific knowledge and practical experience bearing on these problems —of means for attacking them. And it is at this juncture that the social survey appears. The survey is merely a method of bringing these two. the problem and the remedial measure, together. It is the business of the survey to apply the new science and practical experience in sociology, economics, education, public health, to the cause of the general welfare. In other words, the social survey has developed as an application of scientific method for social and civic advance.

A third causal factor in the development of surveys—the current

emphasis placed upon socializing our knowledge—experience and service—probably has had more to do with the *spread* of surveys than with the development of the *first* undertakings. It has been and it is a kind of motive force back of the survey idea. Signs of this growing demand that the important forces and agencies of modern life shall serve the majority, at least, are found in a number of significant places. Within the last three years, for instance, the American Medical Association has entered upon a deliberate campaign to increase the medical knowledge of the public; in other words it has undertaken the stupendous task of educating, in the rudiments of medicine and hygiene, one hundred million laymen; and as one indication of the seriousness of its purpose, Dr. Abram Jacobi, President of the Association and Nestor of the medical profession, in the annual address before the one general meeting of the whole session a year ago, devoted practically all of his time to a consideration of measures for solving the social phases of the problem of infant mortality. It was such an address as could very naturally have fitted into the program of a National Conference of Charities and Correction, or that of any other scientific body in the social field. Moreover, the favorable reception accorded the reports made to the legislative body of the Association, in which stress was laid upon the responsibility of the physician for safeguarding the public health, was indicative that physicians in larger numbers are beginning to see some of the many sides of public health problems—including the economic and social factors—and are conscious of a new responsibility in working them out.

Again, to my notion, at least, the matter of vocational training which is getting a hearing from one end of the country to the other, is another outcropping of this socializing movement. It is an attempt to readjust (and efficiently) the schools to the real, *every day* needs of the great majority of children, instead of allowing this public machinery to serve best the relatively few who wish to prepare for high school and college. Similarly, the new stress being laid upon publicity and efficiency in budget making, upon business methods in collecting and spending the people's money, and the new call for firemen and policemen who are trained to prevent fire and prevent crime—to be on the job *before* something happens, not alone afterward—these also show the same force at work in attempting to socialize the government—to make it really serve the people.

The same force is clearly at work in the church. In the last year or so practically all of the large denominations, and some of the smaller, have organized social service departments and laid out broad social programs. To my mind, at least, this emphasis upon social service represents a new attempt on the part of the church to readjust itself to the needs of the average man—it represents a new awakening to an old fact, namely: the eternal worth of the plain, ordinary man, be he fisherman, beggar, tax gatherer, thief, *or mere child*, defenseless against immature labor or unseen disease.

Origin of Department of Surveys and Exhibits.

The fourth main factor back of the social survey is the common recognition that social problems are complex and often react far in many directions. It was seen in Pittsburgh, for instance, that the tax situation was tied up with conditions in the schools, with housing and with the general problem of population congestion. In Birmingham, the problem of delinquency involved the fee system of paying some of the court officers, the instability of the local labor supply, convict labor as a source of income to a state that believed itself relatively poor, together with the problem of breaking down backward ideas of dealing with lawbreakers. In another city it was found that the handling of the social vice situation involved the problem of adequate care and treatment of feeble-minded girls, the efficiency of the schools as a means for sifting out the mentally deficient; it involved the wage scale, amusement opportunities, and housing conditions—especially where the privacy of the home was infringed upon by boarders and lodgers. The illustrations might be cited at length. It was the attempt to measure up to such complex needs that made the survey different from single investigations, for the former takes up simultaneously a number of related community problems whereas an investigation as a rule follows one problem at a time. There is no purpose in this, however, to minimize the value of specialized work along any one line. The survey idea would merely emphasize the importance of gathering information that will assist in a specialized attack along many lines, and enable the betterment agencies to fit their work together in a united fight against a known enemy.

So much for the causal forces.

In the short time since The Pittsburgh Survey, the first undertaking of the kind in this country, nearly a score of cities have actually completed surveys and the idea has spread far, gripping civic and social leaders in many cities of the country. Leading citizens, city officials, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and other commercial organizations have begun to see the business wisdom, at least, of using the survey as a means toward making the city a better place to live in and hence a better place to do business in. At the same time a number of persons and organizations have equipped themselves to conduct surveys. Space does not permit giving the list here. It may be stated, however, that last October, in response to repeated requests for assistance in starting and conducting surveys, the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation was established; and in the nine months over one hundred cities—from Halifax to San Diego, and Atlanta to Indian Head, Saskatchewan—have asked this one organization for surveys or advice in starting local survey movements.

The responses of the Department to these requests have been determined by several factors—chiefly the timeliness of the proposed survey, and its probable influence on other cities. As to timeliness, con-

sideration has been given to the probability of the project being adequately financed and of its receiving representative local backing. If the city cannot see sufficient value in the thing to be willing to pay for it (especially when all over-head charges are borne by an outside organization) the city has not been considered ready for the survey.

Moreover, the survey is a community enterprise, aimed not to advance any particular interest or set of interests, but to advance the well-being of as large a part of the community as possible. It is an effort toward a democratic solution of local problems; and therefore must be shouldered by representatives of all interests and population groups—in other words, by the *community* through its representatives. Emphasis has also been laid upon the importance of the work being done by persons with experience in this sort of thing. It has been held to require experienced workers just as it requires persons of experience to pass upon the safety of an elevator, a bridge or a steam boiler. Moreover, emphasis has also been placed upon the importance of localities co-operating with national organizations, in their surveys, so that the local follow-up program, whether it be housing, organized charity, prison reform, or what-not, will be in harmony with the standards set up by the national organizations in the various fields.

The question has sometimes been raised: "Why make surveys over and over again in cities all over the country? Won't a few samples cover practically all the city problems and thus supply to all cities a program for improvement?" But conditions vary in different cities, and the citizens of one locality will not be convinced of a local public health or recreation problem merely because some other city has one. Each city will not and should not be satisfied unless the study is made of its own actual conditions.

Four Kinds of Surveys.

The surveys conducted by the Department of Surveys and Exhibits have thus far taken four general forms. The first is a quick neighborhood study to gather such salient facts as may indicate some of the principal social and civic needs. Such a survey was made, for example, in a district of Old Brooklyn (N. Y.), comprising over 100,000 people. One of the results was the organization of the Old Brooklyn Civic League with a paid social worker now in charge of a constructive program.

The second type is a "pathfinder survey"—a brief but city-wide examination to discover the facts that may indicate the need of the later more intensive survey, and the main lines which the latter should take. The Department has made pathfinder surveys in Topeka, Kansas; Springfield, Ill.; Scranton, Pa.; Ithaca, N. Y., and Atlanta, Ga. In a few of these cities certain parts of the investigation proceeded beyond the mere preliminary stage.

The third type is the more intensive survey. The best example among those conducted by the Department is the Newburgh survey.

This covered public schools, public health work, charities, delinquency, municipal administration, industrial conditions, housing and recreation, going into each of these in some considerable detail.

The fourth type is a more specialized investigation confined to the field of public health and sanitation. The wide relation of health work to all problems involving a city's people has led to the inclusion of such investigations within the scope of the Department's activities. The most recent example is the investigation of the work of the Department of Public Health of Newark, N. J., a city of 350,000 people. This was undertaken at the request of the municipal authorities.

Finally it seems highly probable that in the future, cities will carry on what will practically amount to continuous surveys in the social, civic and economic fields. A great deal of information collected in these enterprises, in addition to its bearings upon the problems under current investigation, shows the need of still other investigations or of carrying the current investigations, at a later time, beyond the point where they will meet the current needs. In other words, it is not believed that the survey exhausts the investigation possibilities or needs of the given city. By setting forth accurate and analyzed facts, however, in addition to their practical uses at the time, it will demonstrate the value of continuous investigations of both general and specialized character.

CASE WORK DISCIPLINES AND IDEALS.

Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York City.

Case work deals with life lived unsuccessfully. Its business is to stir men and women whose situation is markedly unfavorable to move on to a more remunerative plane of effort. Crudely conceived, its objects appear as pawns standing ready to be moved from one unshaded square to another on a board conspicuously black and white. They, the men and women, seem to lend themselves to a game of computation. So many persons ranged as living below an accepted standard, so much charitable relief available to move them from the minus to the plus squares. Conceived, however, more judiciously, the objects fail readily to reveal their complex needs or to lend themselves to quick transportation. The game shows itself to be one that is not necessarily to the swift.

Mr. Galsworthy in a recent essay on "The New Spirit in the Drama," illustrates his position "that we are not born connoisseurs of plays" and that "to appreciate even drama at its true value a man must be educated just a little" by describing his own gradual education in appreciation of the treasures of the National Gallery. "When I first went to the National Gallery I was struck dumb with love of Landseer's stags and a Greuze damsel with her cheeks glued to her own shoulder, and became

voluble from admiration of the large Turner and the large Claude hung together in that perpetual prize-fight. At a second visit I discovered Sir Joshua's "Countess of Albemarle," and Old Crome's "Mousehold Heath," and did not care quite so much for Landseer's stags. And again and again I went, and each time saw a little differently, a little clearer; until at last my time was spent before Titian's "Bacchus and Ariadne," Botticelli's "Portrait of a Young Man," the Francescas, Da Messina's little "Crucifixion," the Ucello battle picture (that great test of education), the Velasquez "Admiral," Hogarth's "Five Servants," and the immortal "Death of Procris." Admiration for stags and maiden—where was it?"

Let us assume that Mr. Galsworthy's analogy has a lesson for us, who admit that we are not born case workers and that we have had to be educated gradually to do our job, but who, collectively, claim to be trying to develop an art in dealing with our fellows. We are building upon our earlier emotional efforts a gradually, very gradually, enlarging intellectual effort. We, too, have felt the stirring appeal of the pathetic figures which to our young imaginations isolated themselves so readily. We, too, have been baffled by the subtler aspect of the subjects that presented themselves to our quickened minds. We, too, have learned to test our growth by the ability to range our subjects so as to show the right relation of each to each.

The Mental Attitude of the Case Worker.

It is not my intention to record the gradual process by which methods of investigation have been shaping themselves nor to consider what a long way we have to travel before we can lay claim to be contributing to the sum of well considered and painfully achieved technical processes in the field of arts. The present bulletins of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, the bulletins of the former Field Department, and case comments that may be found recorded in the reports of many charitable agencies give more than I could offer in a brief paper, even if I were as well prepared as some others to make the survey of the gains in methods of investigation and treatment, and to estimate the ground to be covered. But I can assert that gains are being made and that as a group we are in a position to recognize our failures and to move forward to a mastery of our field. The rate of our advance and our power to hold a position won will, however, depend with certainty upon our preparedness to measure and to pay the cost. Let me then, if I may, offer some suggestions as to the attitudes of mind which must control us, if we are to be an effective corps in the army of social service.

Perhaps we have to recognize that ours is a service which makes a demand on our ability to wage a lonely fight. There must of necessity be a sense of isolation in our efforts as long as the temper of the times demands that there shall be a quick rendering of the account of accomplishment. Some of you are trying to maintain a standard of case work

under conditions which make the fight a daily one to hold to the principles acquired by a slow process of realizing human needs. Your communities are being educated by the daily press to see social situations sharply defined and capable of radical alterations through quickly applied and conceived methods of redress. The plastic public is ready to believe that adequate redress involves merely the passage of some new laws, the creation of some new boards of management or supervision, the appointment of some more officials, the appropriating of larger sums of money, the condemning of old abuses. You, too, know how inadequate many of your laws are, you realize how handicapped are your public boards, how few in number are your officials, how small in proportion to the need is the sum of your appropriations, how contemptible are some of the conditions under which the people in your communities live. But your optimism rooted in a steadying belief in the gradual improvability of people does not accept the prophecy of facile gains. You know from your study of people and from your effort to put into effective motion the extant social machinery how slowly real needs are gauged and how hardly the machine is made to move in the direction of meeting the requirements of individuals. You know, also, that as the public has been brought to see the claims of the poorer classes from a new angle of wants, it has lost sight for a time of the old claims, so that there has been danger of losing ground at one point because the attack has been shifted to another. Seeing as you do the beauty of the flush which anticipated victory gives to those who see the problem of social advance as simple, not complex, you question the tenability of your position. Who am I to judge? you say; am I a pessimist, is my faith in human nature lost, should I drop my slowly availing effort to bring through to some better plane of living this mere handful of poorly endowed creatures when the great work of opening opportunities for the many is to be done? My answer to you is emphatically "No." There is scope for varied talents in the army of social advance. The mind of the public has to be impressed in many different ways, by many different kinds of method. Progress is never made along macadam roads. I am not criticising therefore nor minimizing the importance of arousing the common social conscience by varying methods. I am ready to criticize only those who, having enlisted under one banner, through lack of faith or through failure to think their situation through, have shifted their allegiance. If case work be a definite contribution, then we should be ready to suffer our seasons of isolation, suffer, not in inactivity, but through intensity of application win a recognition of our place in the general scheme of social work. Loneliness of position is suffered gladly when one recognizes that in quietness is strength won to make the next step forward.

Freedom from Conventional Conceptions.

But tenacity in holding to one's position must be complemented, to speak paradoxically, by a readiness to shake loose from hard and fast

conceptions of methods of work. I was discussing one day this past winter with a small group of fellow workers the case of a young woman who had an illegitimate child that was being cared for apart from the mother. It is not necessary for the purpose of illustration to go into the sordid facts of the young woman's life. They differ in no significant degree from many other stories that workers with individuals are listening to from day to day. But as the facts of this particular case were being carefully reviewed, we found ourselves reaching a decision that seemed opposed in principle to the treatment of mothers with illegitimate children. Our decision seemed to me to become something apart from ourselves, to be wrested from its particular significance to take on a palpitating identity. This sounds fantastic, but I had a sense at the time of exaltation, a sense of having shaken myself loose from a preconception of the way in which the particular case of a particular type should be treated. It is of no consequence here what our decision was. I might add that it is of consequence that it should not be recorded, lest it should get itself classified and so become a stumbling block of offense. But for me at least that morning's experience has had power to steady. I realize that in our present stage of agitation in favor of ameliorating the material condition of family life and of holding the mother in the home, we may often be called on to reach decisions that may seem to fall out of class and that may put us on the task of defining our reasons for departures from generally accepted canons of treatment. We must recognize that we are free to digress from accustomed lines of action, provided we are prepared to go deep enough with the individual or the family and to hold on. Variation in decision is unwarranted only when one is hurried or *distrait*.

The importance of being ready to recast one's conclusions leads on to another problem of discipline involved in case work, namely that of selection of material for presentation. Selection of types of cases to be given preference in a season of over-pressure is not what is in mind though that topic is fruitful for discussion. What is in mind is a process of selection of the facts and conjectures held in relation to a particular case which may empower the case worker to select the significant for permanent keeping and reject the insignificant. To acquire the habit of recalling the significant facts and to range them in orderly sequence means to discipline the mind, to lose hold of the irrelevant. Think what our case reading would mean if we were trained to discard much of the ephemeral matter that now burdens our files; the conjectures for instance of the hurried investigator, who in studying her note book or her memory recalls what constitutes the gossip rather than the verified facts of the case. In our case discussions we are quick to realize the difference between a mere rehearsal of the unrelated facts of a family's situation, and the gathering together by a skillful worker of the various significant facts which, taken in relation to each other, give style to the particular life which is under review. The stories are the stories of human beings, and our right to constitute ourselves case reviewers de-

pends on our putting our minds in order so that we may be qualified to review each life with a conviction of its being unique. Such bald classification as worthy and unworthy, helpable and unhelpable, or widowed, deserted, inebriate, unemployed, each falls out of the rank of the previously accepted or rejected for particular forms of treatment when the spirit of the interpreter has made the so-called investigator a selector of the relevant.

Intensive Consideration.

But to have a mind free to conceive the problems of the individual as unique means to do one's work intensively. How the intensive work opens to the student the range of social complexities is brought home to us day by day. I have in mind three families that were visited this past winter by three students, who were doing their field work in a district of a C. O. S. The first case is that of an English woman who married a negro in the West Indies and came after his death to New York with their one child, a girl. As so often happens, the woman's reason for application to the society, temporary financial need, which was easily removable by offer and acceptance of work, was not the significant fact laid bare by the investigation. The knotty problem was, what is to be the future of the child of eleven years? Living in a city which countenances no intimate social relations between white and colored, what can this child expect life to bring her. She already claims her heritage of white blood, and her mother is indifferent to or careless of the issue. A painstaking interviewing of agencies for care of the negro in the city and of individuals interested throws no light on the situation. And the child stands defiant at any effort to bring her into social relations with children of the negro race. The meditative student is brought to face the sharp problems of racial maladjustments and incompatibilities by the one picture of the widowed mother and child. The second story is that of an ordinary day laborer, who for second wife has taken a feeble-minded woman. She has borne him one child and she is ill-able to give care to it and to their home, and unfit to look after his three small children by the first wife. Here again temporary lack of work is the reason for entry to the home, but no amount of effort by the man or in his behalf can make the home normal. His attitude towards his home and his wife precludes the possibility of his taking steps or allowing anyone else to take steps to have his wife committed to a custodial asylum for the feeble-minded. One does not lose a sense of the importance of such commitment when it is learned from the physician who attended her at child-birth that she will bear no more children, because the situation is patent to any casual visitor that the home of the mentally incompetent caretaker can but be a sham. The story of the one feeble-minded woman carries the student a long way on the road of realization of what is involved in the fight before the eugenist and the social moralist.

The third story, that of a man and woman broken in spirit and health, also, comes to the knowledge of the society because of tempor-

ary loss of work. The entry into the home shows the reason for loss of power to control the situation to be the presence of a feeble-minded, epileptic, little child. To this pathetic, repellant little figure are being sacrificed the interests of other children. The mother is bowed to the dust so that her will to resist the pressure of an outsider to have the child committed to an institution is yielded, but the father, who throughout the day is outside the home, is immovable in his determination to hold the child, and alleges faith in a superstition that as the physical nature suffers change every seven years, the child when turned seven will be freed from the epileptic seizures. There is no force that can make the father place his child in the institution which stands ready to receive it. So here again the student is confronted with the long task that lies ahead and the complexities of the situation. But it is noteworthy that the three students who were confronted by these hard facts of case work have each felt its call. Two have definitely enlisted; the third, a medical student, is making arrangements whereby a group of fellow students may next year be given an opportunity to get an insight, through friendly visiting, into the relations of social to medical work. To accept the discipline of being brought face to face with what is implied in such study of human life lived hard, is to carry an ideal of life's slow adjustments which makes one keen to measure one's abilities by no easier gauge of service.

In the enlisting of the ardent, devoted student lies our guarantee of permanent advance. We have seen in the past how agents and secretaries who were essentially insignificant and lacking in spirit became, to borrow a comment of Ellen Key's on human nature, harder with years. Slowly some of the narrow-spirited are being dropped from the rolls of our force and their place must be taken by those whose increasing gentleness, still to borrow from Ellen Key, will be characteristic of their notable personalities and "mobile spirit." We know how the spiritless workers have stood in the way of advance in public appreciation of what we are driving at, but if we enlist those capable of growing stronger in case work we have got to encourage a determination to see case work through. There is no possibility of our making persisting gains if we cannot command such allegiance as will make the trained man or woman recognize the need of continuance in service commensurate in some degree with the sense of obligation that rests on the great body of men and women in other professions to continue to make their contribution in the profession which has trained them to serve. Continuity of service is peculiarly needed, it seems to me, in case work, because we have got to bring our public gradually to realize that what we have to offer is our maturing judgments as to the reaction of human beings to efforts made in their behalf.

Virtue in Compromise.

One would not like to conclude one's partial tale of discipline without including that of being "drilled in the give and take school of com-

promise." There is a disposition to compromise which is of the very nature of death, but there is a readiness to think through the attitudes of a co-operating agency which is instinct with life itself. None of us has shifted his position from one line of action to another because of the realization of the superior claim on common sense of the other worker's position without a compensating gain in the quality of his work. Now this is not necessarily of the nature of compromise, but the spirit is kin to it, and without the attitude of compromise we are liable to grow rigid in our determination to stick to our own conception of principles of work.

What we are driving at is to increase the number of helpful relationships. We surely will fail in our efforts in behalf of people if we can't learn how the various agencies which are organized to meet the needs of families in their homes can meet need without frustrating each other's efforts. Perhaps on those of us who consider the family as the unit lies the particular task of studying how to come into relation with each other in ways additional to those now offered by confidential exchanges and case conferences and how to co-ordinate our respective work so as to reserve the greatest amount of energy for constructive family use.

One day last spring I was met near my home by an old woman. A small bonnet with the style of a past decade sat squarely on her neatly parted thin gray hair, a long black coat covered her from head to foot, and in her hand she carried a small recticule, which later she showed me held but a ticket to an employment agency which I knew secured work only for the young. She looked at me out of dim eyes and let her story slip off her tongue with the hurried utterance of the man or woman accustomed to beg. She had spent the previous night in a lodging house off the Bowery, she had no money for breakfast, and she dreaded to go to the Charities Building because to seek aid there meant to be sent to the almshouse. "They have my story written down. I have been in the hospital, I only want work. I am a good cook. I know how to prepare game, venison, make pastry and cake. I can work; I only need a chance. I don't drink, I have no friends." There it all lay spread before me, a stranger on the street. What was patent was that she had been a decent woman and that she had at one time been a cook in some well-fed household—one could know that much at least by listening to and looking at her. She went with me a little way towards the Charities Building and then she refused to go farther. "I am afeared," she said. She seemed to me a bewildered wraith as I left her. I had refused to give her what she asked and had offered her what she would not take. She knew the city's ways and took her chance to fight a little longer her losing fight. I baffled her, but she baffled me. But in my heart of hearts I knew that to help her, one must in concert with others have begun long before the time when she drifted into the street. What relationships were there that, taken in time, might have been strengthened? Could her wage-earning years have been

lengthened, were there years of careless spending, was the sickness preventable that disabled permanently, was the hospital care such as to give a dread of other institutions, had private agencies carefully considered her needs, should the almshouse awaken so great a dread in the breast of a homeless old woman? Somewhere she should have met, it would seem, the sympathy that makes naked the image of the pain she would have to bear in her dreary old age—a reverent attention to her need somewhere should have preserved her from her pathetic decline into pauperism. She seems to offer at least to us, so remote from her claims, a picture of the demand that lies on us. This demand is in itself an ideal, but it lays its obligation squarely on our shoulders. It isn't that we should stand ready to give, primarily, but that we should train ourselves to find. The obligation is to find the capacity in every human being. The fulfillment of that obligation lifts us from the rank of mere jobbers to the rank of creators. To find capacity in many instances is equivalent to creating individuality and to make the downmost man count as one, to use the late Prof. Nash's phrase, is to be doing the business of Christianity.

I visited in the city hospital a red-haired Irishman who was dying of cancer. His wife and children were making, as he knew, a brave fight with the aid of charity, to keep his home and theirs. He knew he would never go back to them or it. But he was valiant, and with a patient smile said he did not wish his wife to know how much he suffered, and that when she visited him he was equal to the task of blinding her to the fact. He lost no jot of his individuality in that city ward, and the heritage of his children was his grit.

In thinking back over his gradual decline into what might be termed dependence on charity, I could realize that a charity worker had brought to a study of his problem a quality of sympathy that made her work help to bring to fruition in him and his wife the partially hidden store of self-surrender. The story of the Irish family with its period of devastating sickness of the breadwinner, and steady holding to work of its well members rounds into a completeness that gives it the quality of a spiritual force. One questions which gave most, which took most, the family or the worker. In the face of forces released by real grasp on the principles of the gift one loses all desire to compute. One merely realizes one's ideal of service.

Social Function of the Case Worker.

Very briefly to recapitulate, discipline calls for a readiness to work if need be alone, to be open-minded, to be able to sift the chaff from the wheat, to persist in one's job, to see value in the work of others—and may I add one more characteristic, to avoid the sin of the Laodicean. Being lukewarm means not only to lose out oneself, but to tempt to loss of faith in others.

In looking back over a period of twenty years one can perceive a gradual but steady growth in the power to realize the task of case work.

The long-range review gives one a perspective by which one can appreciate the gains as having collective value. We may claim to be getting nearer the essential facts of family life, and to be loosening the grip of the casual, to suffer less from the tyranny of the preconceived, to be keeping more in mind the complexity of the reactions of human beings and to be seeing with growing clarity the relation between various kinds of efforts to improve family life. We are learning, moreover, that case work need bear no label. In essence it it not preventive, nor curative, nor remedial. It holds no brief for environment nor for heredity. It predicts no speedy fulfillment of social aims. It works slowly, deliberately, to prevent the attitude of man to man being that of "the mill-stone to the grain" and it bases its work on faith in the individual's spiritual tendency to advance. It offers its findings for common consideration.

I call to mind the exhilaration of sitting in front of M. Bergson and of watching him rather more than of listening to him as with his wonderfully sensitive hands he seemed as he spoke to shape his thesis. His philosophical exposition seemed to be sculptured as with the rough material of words he shaped his convincing *ensemble*. Now very humbly, very tentatively, very falteringly, I conceive of case work as an art gradually being shaped so as to produce something which has a coherent, a collective value. The vital difference, however, between the art of case work and any other form of art is that the medium is human nature, not "words and tones and colors and forms." These may suffer a change under the creative power of the artist, but the quintescence of case work is that it should not create but release, that it should, as a mediator, evoke power. Its honor lies in putting no obstacles in the way of individual advance, its pretensions should fall short of acting for another.

It is difficult to illustrate what one is driving at by the concrete instance, but I call to mind young Daly, who may serve my turn. He has lived in a neighborhood which has offered him day by day for the twenty-one years of his life the sight of narrow streets, of little emphasis laid on education, on safeguarding health, on observing laws, or making provision for the future. He has seen on the one hand, lives lived courageously in the face of a demand for daily sacrifices in behalf of family integrity, on the other, lives lived with careless disregard of family obligations. He has his background of family connections, of church affiliations, of inherited relation of employer to employee. Married at twenty, his habits of mind are confirmed by his wife's, who belongs as he does to the locality, and who has had no training for homemaking and has few traditions to fall back on. Nineteen and twenty looking out on life from a three-room loft over the stable in which the young husband works, and in which his father worked before him. The sinister fact that brings this young couple into the forefront is that the boy has a tubercular knee, and that recognized by him or not there is before him to travel the hard path of the physically handicapped.

Poor boy, he must make good, and his wife must make good, and there is a child to make good. The task is theirs. It can be lightened, and it may be made more sure to spell success, but the burden of it must rest on their shoulders.

I was walking not long ago along a crowded thoroughfare with a woman who had impressed me as being to an extraordinary degree socially competent. We had as volunteer members of a committee been discussing the increased cost of living and by way of illustration she said quite simply, "When I was first married my husband made $14 a week, and for some years we could save regularly one dollar a week, but we can't do it now, though he makes his $15, and the two children bring home $2.00 each." Though I had been seeing her from week to week and had learned to know something of the extent to which she gave herself to work for her church and how finely she had reared her children I had no knowledge until she spoke of how she had made life give her such abundant chance to make good at such small expenditure for the material things. She, too, belongs to the neighborhood in which so many have been offered crutches when their need was to be urged to rise and walk.

As I pictured her going about her round of home and charitable duties in the neighborhood in which she was born, her characteristic seems to be content of mind, and in her simple heart she seems to have realized the Kingdom of God.

> "Not for us are content and quiet and peace of mind,
> For we go seeking a city that we shall never find."

We must needs suffer disquietude as we prepare to attack wrong and to lessen discrepancies in conditions of living. Perhaps, however, we need at times to listen in silence and to look with the inner eye lest in seeking for the City of God far away "at the other end of the road" we fail to find it situate in our midst.

THE AMERICAN FAMILY AND ITS PROBLEMS.

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Although according to the dictionary an American is any person born in America, and although most of us go even further than this and claim every loyal citizen as an American, I presume when your committee assigned me the topic "The American Family and Its Problems," they had in mind the still older immigrants to this new land, and in particular the whites. Accordingly, where statistics are used, I have kept to the native born white of native parents, and in general have had in mind several generations of American born ancestors.

Our first problem in approaching this subject is to discover where the American family is. We find, to begin with, according to the census for 1910 that in spite of the great tide of immigration during the last decade, the proportion of native whites of native parents has nearly held its own, being 53.9 per cent. of the population in 1900, and 53.8 per cent. in 1910. These same native whites of native parents were distributed in 1910 as follows:

In communities under 2500	44.2%
In communities of 2500-10,000	9.7%
In communities of 10,000-25,000	6.2%
In communities of 25,000-100,000	8.7%
In communities of 100,000-500,000	9. %
In communities of 500,000 and over	10.6%

By the same authority it appears that considerably over half (53%) of the twenty million families in this country live in towns of less than 2,500 population, and that nearly two-thirds (64.1%) of this rural population is American—as defined above. All of which indicates that the American family problem lies more largely in the rural communities than in the urban, though in every division of states, except New England, the population of towns of 2,500—10,000 is more than half American; for every division except New England and the Middle Atlantic states the same is true of cities up to 25,000; while for the West, North Central, South Atlantic, East South, West South and Mountain States this holds for cities up to 100,000.

What Becomes of the Displaced Workingman?

Turning to discover in what occupations the American works, we are told that there he has been displaced in one industry after another, until, as W. Jett Lauck says, in a recent (November, 1912) article in the *Atlantic*, called "The Vanishing American Wage Earner,"—"Only one-fifth of the workers in our mines and manufacturing plants today are native American"—"One-fourth of the iron and steel workers"—"One-fifth of our bituminous miners"—"one-tenth of the New England cotton mill operatives,"—"one-seventh of the employees of our woolen and worsted mills and silk-dyeing establishments, and one-fifth of those in our silk mills and carpet factories"—etc., etc

If the native American has been displaced in this wholesale manner, the question that fairly shouts for an answer is "What has become of him?"

Until the volume on occupations of the 13th census is published, I do not know how to answer that question accurately, or even by a wild guess. If any one here can, I hope he will. There is, however, one comment which I wish to make upon these statements concerning displacement, and that is that they all deal in proportions. To say that the American wage-earner is now only one-fifth of all those in our mining and manufacturing industries does not necessarily mean that the actual number of Americans in these industries has decreased. The

proportion of American to foreign labor engaged in trade and transportation in 1900, for instance, was smaller than in 1890, and in so far might be said to be displaced; but the actual number of Americans engaged in these pursuits during this decade increased over half a million. The only occupations in which there were decreases in the actual number of American wage-earners were four; boot and shoe makers and repairers, carpenters and joiners, masons and woodworkers, and in all but the last of these occupations the total number of employees, American and foreign, decreased.

Now, in 1900, there were of such American wage-earners 47½ per cent. in agricultural pursuits. More than a fourth (28.4%) of all male wage-earners of native parents were farmers, planters and overseers, 18 per cent. were agricultural laborers, and the next largest class was "laborers (not specified)", which totaled 8 per cent.; 5 per cent. (5.2) were the miscellaneous group under manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, and 3 per cent. (3.2) retail merchants and dealers. No other occupation was over 2 per cent.

One important distinction, then, in defining the American family problem is that by far the largest class of American family wage-earners engaged in any single industry are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and their problems are not city problems but rural problems. As the problems of the rural family are quite different from those of the urban family, however, and as the members of this Conference are concerned almost entirely with city problems, I shall confine this paper to a discussion of the American in the city. The urban American: 385,000 merchants and dealers, 329,000 carpenters and joiners, 295,000 clerks and copyists, 256,000 salesmen, 229,000 draymen, hackmen and teamsters. What are their family needs?

Problem to Provide for the Uncommon Necessities.

It is clear that men in such occupations as these do not need a minimum wage law. Of course the high cost of living presses close upon their heels, and they need cheaper food and clothes and rent,—in common with the rest of the world. The problem of the American family, however, is not how to provide for these common necessities of life, but for the uncommon necessities, such as medical service, periods of unemployment, vacations, etc. Medical service is perhaps the point at which the American family suffers most. The rich have their private hospital rooms and the poor their free wards, the rich their high-priced specialists and the poor the same specialists, free, in hospitals and dispensaries, the rich have their $25.00 a week nurse and the poor the same nurse, on district work, for little or nothing. The American family of small means cannot pay for the private room in the hospital and does not like to go into the ward; cannot pay for the specialist and does not like to flock to the free dispensary. Even the doctors they can pay for, though M. D.'s, are for the most part without the invaluable hospital experience which the higher grade men obtain, and,

in my home state, at least, the state requirements for admission to practice are woefully low. As for nursing service, it requires little thought to recognize the lamentable lack of it for those who want a business proposition and not charity. It was hoped that the district nurse would fill this need, but in most cities district nursing has been so advertised and practiced as for the poor—"pay nothing, or whatever you can afford",—that it has lost its opportunity to minister to the needs of by far the largest class of citizens; they will have nothing of it. Fortunately, there are exceptions to this, especially in the smaller towns where democracy still exists. But the hourly nursing of the district nurse, even were it availed of by the American family, does not meet the whole need.

Indeed, in my experience, the kind of service needed in the American family when sickness comes is most often resident service, that of some intelligent person to care not for the patient solely, or chiefly, but to care for the house and children while the mother is laid up. The neighbor or the relative used to be relied upon for this, but in the city neighbors are too many to be particular, and as for relatives,—well, according to the last census seventeen million people in this country are living in states other than the ones in which they were born, so that relatives are at a premium; and too often one of the wage-earners has to stay home to look out for the household. The enlisting, training, registering and supervision of the *practical nurse* will meet one of the greatest needs of the American family. If the graduate nurses object to the practical nurse, for medical or professional reasons, I say that the practical nurse meets a practical need that cannot be suppressed, and that the effort put into trying to exclude her should be put into trying properly to train and supervise her, and so to co-ordinate her service with that of the graduate nurse, hourly and monthly, and with emergency domestic service, that the particular need of every family of whatever status can be met promptly, safely and efficiently.

The Virtue of the Installment Plan.

But even granted provision for proper and economical care of the sick, there remains the problem of meeting the extraordinary financial burden when it comes. It may be easier to meet the cost of sickness (whether child-birth or grippe) at $12 a week than at $25, but it is still a staggerer. The American family can pay for what it has to, from day to day, if the amount is a fraction of the weekly or monthly wage; but exceed this, and it is lost. A suit of clothes or the rent is about the limit. Newspapers come easy; so do magazines; a call on the doctor is not shied at, but the dentist is put off not only because of the buzzer, but because it takes only one pumping of the chair to raise a considerable bill. The theatre is within the range of many, and the movies have opened the door of amusement to all; car rides to the park or beach are possible, but railroad fares, or board, not to mention loss of wages, make a real vacation beyond the reach of most, and outdoor sport,

whether of game or garden, is for many but a memory. My experience with American families, whether the income is $15 or $50 a week, is that the emergency or the need of extra large expenditures finds them unprepared. (And it is at this point that they go to pieces and come into the range of the philanthropic societies.) They draw their pay weekly or monthly, and when the bills are paid, there is nothing left. Indeed there is often not quite enough to pay all bills with, and the recurring futile effort to clear the slate has a discouraging effect, or finally produces a callousness, either of which prevents the clear-eyed, free-minded independence that should be the heritage of every American. Let me say again, that this is true in my experience, no matter whether the wage or salary is $15 or $50 a week, the only difference being in the size of the bills to be paid.

The commercial device invented to meet this situation is the installment plan. Through it, a family that would be devastated by a sickness costing several hundred dollars, buys a piano with ease and alacrity. Now the secret of the installment plan is not that small payments may be made monthly. Small monthly payments could be made, in advance, to a savings bank and the piano bought for a much smaller amount; but *this would not be done*—in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. The *secret* is that the monthly payments *must be* made. That is one reason that insurance is the easiest form of saving; once started, there comes every week or quarter not a mental note that it is time to put by a certain sum, but a *bill* that must be paid.

The "Great God Thrift."

What I urge is that the greatest problem of the American family today is the cultivation of thrift. Benjamin Franklin's Great God Thrift, about which we heard the other night, was worshipped when we were a rural people, and is still worshipped by the rural part of the people, but the urban American knows it not. Why is it—as the Immigration Commission told us,—that 10.4 per cent of foreign-born in this country own their own homes, while only 5.7 per cent. of native-born Americans do the same? What a commentary upon the American family! Some are born thrifty, some attain it, but most of us have to have it thrust upon us. To be born with it is often to accumulate money at the expense of health, happiness and life itself. The conductor on our train coming out told how his thrifty brother has accumulated half a million dollars. Today he is a wreck. The conductor had saved nothing —but a large and healthy family. To have thrift thrust upon us (by the early training of thrifty parents) is too often to become spendthrifts; to attain it is to learn the only road to economic efficiency and joyous independence, to know how to save and to know how to spend—then do hospitals, doctors, nurses, vacations, recreation, title to home and title to health come without devastation.

There is but one way to attain the habit and joy of saving and that is to practice it, and the easiest way to practice it is to enlist in an enterprise from which one may not turn back. There is an organization

in Philadelphia, among the colored people, in which those who join agree to save a given amount per week. A collector goes around to the homes each week to collect the savings. The original object was to enable members to buy coal by the ton instead of by the bucket, to buy it on the installment plan, but pay all the installments in advance! The association buys its own coal from the mines, sells it to members slightly below the market price, and clears enough to pay the salary of the collector. That is a primitive method for a primitive people, but I have often wondered why it has not been copied elsewhere and extended to many uses. A more advanced type of institution, and one better than all the savings banks and postal savings banks because it requires of its members regular payments until the shares mature, is the Co-operative Bank, or Building and Loan Association. The Encyclopedia of Social Reform shows the number of associations in the United States to be over 5,000, membership over a million and a half, and the assets nearly six hundred and fifty millions. Pennsylvania leads with twelve hundred associations, then come Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Indiana, New York, California, Massachusetts and Missouri; the remaining states ranging all the way from sixty to none at all. In Europe it is the co-operative bank that has developed most extensively, Germany having twelve thousand such banks. The railroad agent who brought us out from Boston said that he bought five shares in a co-operative bank some years ago. They cost him a dollar a month per share, and every month he shelled out his five dollar bill without missing it. Then came a day when his little boy came down with scarlet fever, and was sick three months at a cost of $250. Where to turn to for it, he did not know, till he thought of his shares in the co-operative bank. They had not matured, but they had a cash surrender and interest value that more than carried him through. That five dollars a month did it; but that five dollars a month would never have been put by except upon *bills rendered.* The man said so himself. He is a typical American.

But the time to acquire any habit is in childhood. The penny savings bank, carefully administered, with social workers as receiving and paying tellers, can be made an agency for building into character perhaps the most useful economic habit there is. This agency is too often carelessly administered, given over to untrained volunteer workers in a settlement, or to over-burdened teachers. In some cities, it is an important function of the district agents of the C. O. S., where it is bound to be of immediate educational value. In other places, it is carried by trained workers to the shop and factory girls.

But the habit of saving is a poor thing in itself. To save in order to spend is true thrift,—whether it be for a new hat, for Christmas presents, a baseball bat, a home, or simply for an emergency fund,—not to be hoarded, but to be used when health or happiness demands. The child who learns the joy and the power of saving for a purpose, of saving to spend, has learned a lesson of incalculable importance, has formed a habit which may prove the foundation of a sound family life, on an ever ascending plane of living.

I have said that of those things which social agencies can provide the American family, the greatest need is for efficient, moderate-priced medical service on a business basis; and that of those things which need development within the American family, the greatest need is the inculcation of the habit of saving for a purpose.

Family Disintegration.

There is another problem of the American family which involves in a puzzling way the need of forces both outside and inside the family. I speak of the disintegration of family life, a phenomenon more pronounced in large cities but observable in small cities as well. One of the most striking contrasts to a newcomer in a cosmopolitan neighborhood is the way that the foreign families have their fun together, men and women, adults and children, and at home where possible; while in the American families, the men go out alone for their fun and the older children are seldom seen with their parents at home, or abroad. Has this not possibly something to do with divorce and desertion, and with the pronounced difficulty of rehabilitating an American family once it is down?

The freedom of American children is a point of frequent comment, the lack of control on the part of the parents, the lack of industry on the part of children, the lack of helpfulness in the home, either in service, or, later, in contribution from wages. The immigrant's child breaking away from its parents, as much as it has been emphasized, is to my mind not as pronounced as that of the American child,—from whom, indeed, he may have learned it.

How can we restore American family life? To restore it to what it was once cannot be done. The American family life of yesterday was developed in a rural civilization. Only as late as 1890, according to Dr. L. H. Bailey, "nine-tenths of our people were either on farms or very closely associated with farming." Today, not so much because of the drift of population (more than half still live in towns under 2,500) but because of the miracle of transportation and communication, and of the luxuries, amenities, and opportunities for pleasure developed by the industrial age, we are entering upon an urban civilization. Its influence is felt just as surely in the country as in the city; that is what causes the drift citywards. The children on the farm have not yet got away from the horny hand of parental authority, but they are demanding and getting more freedom from work, and the same complaint is heard of idleness and pleasure seeking. This is one point at which the problems of rural and urban American families come together.

The functions of the home are undergoing marked change. Cultural education was long ago taken over from the home; and now it is seen that industrial education, and even domestic education, not only in the town, but on the farm itself, must be provided by the state. And so it is with recreation, in the city because of over-crowding, in the country because of isolation, play—that all-important business of childhood—

must be provided for outside the home. I believe that the school of the future,—suburban schools for the city, consolidated schools for the country—will, in the first place, with brief vacations, last the year around; will open at nine and close at four; will transport all pupils the greater distance involved; will serve a noon meal, with due regard for health, and education in diet and manners; and will give one hour to cultural education, one to physical education, two to manual, industrial and domestic education and two to physical, mental and moral education through play. Such a school would not only take care of much of the idle time which so worries American parents, but would give the children a new interest in their parents, as father and mother, and as skilled workman and homekeeper, an interest which would prove a strong factor in the reintegration of family life.

What I am saying is that the American family is never going back to its old life, splendid as that was; but on to new life, not yet made clear, but surely vastly fuller and richer than anything the world has known.

What Can Be Done?

And in this trying period of transition, what can be done about it all—by society, by the family?

In the first place, society must control the world of pleasure that commerce has discovered and so marvelously developed. The city must be made safe to live in—for adults, for children, at work and in all the abandon of pleasure seeking. And the family? Well, my first advice to the urban American family is to move to the country! An urban civilization does not necessarily mean that all should live herded together in cities. That the city is the best place for family life, I will not hear to until children's agencies place out their children in cities. The back-to-the-land movement may not be important to rural life, but it is of vast significance to city life. The enormous sums now being expended for the extension of suburban transportation are not the result of forethought. They are a tardy answer to a loud-voiced demand. And we are going to find a way to free the miles of land, held by speculators and private estates, for the use of the small land-holder. I do not mean for farming purposes, for so deep are the changes wrought in character by contact with city environment that it takes less than a generation of it to unfit most country-born families for successful farm life. And the land adjacent to a *big* city is too precious even for market gardening; it is needed for homes. Vacant lot cultivation should not be possible in such a city, because there ought to be no vacant lots.

The city of Boston is not governed by Americans, as defined above, because as soon as a family becomes Americanized, it moves out of Boston. This creates a serious condition in the city government, but the remedy for it is not to strive to keep the families whose rising standards demand their removal from crowded quarters from leaving the city. The remedy is to extend the city to include them, govern-

ment and all, and let the old city become what alone it is fit for,—an industrial and trading center.

Value of the Simpler Virtues.

When I wrote this I had not seen all of Seattle. I suppose Seattle is the largest city in this country devoted exclusively to business and commerce. If she will remain satisfied with the population and wealth that can be created without the aid of manufacturing within her gates, she can no doubt remain what she is today, the most beautiful city in America, and the one best suited to be the home of an American family. But even in Seattle, where every family can have a house open to the four winds and surrounded by luxuriant gardens, we find them building apartment houses!

After viewing this city beautiful, yesterday, I racked my brains to think how I could stay here and send for my family. Surely no one ought to live anywhere else. And then I bethought me of my own home in the country, set in acres of orchard and woodland, and I knew that for my children even the city of Seattle could not compete with the open country.

The American family, relieved of many of its functions, should turn with all the more earnestness to the more vital functions remaining. Of these, the first is childbearing; and the child born in a bungalow will be different from the child born in a flat. The second is child culture, —in those first weeks and years when every sight and sound and touch are cut in marble; and the child whose first sense impressions come from nature will be different from the child wheeled up and down a brick and mortar canon. The third is the induction of growing boys and girls into those secrets of life and learning, art and poetry, morals and religion, which, learned away from home, prove barriers between children and parents, but learned in the home, of the parents, prove the very bulwarks of beautiful and lasting family life.

Why go any further? That *civilization* is highest which promotes the integrity of the family. (And let it be said here that if this civilization which we are now developing does not ultimately succeed in doing this,—this civilization will go). That *family life* is highest which promotes the birth, the health, the mental development, the moral fibre and the spiritual nature of the child.

LEADERSHIP IN SMALLER CITIES.

Margaret F. Byington, Associate Director Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

If I ever find myself losing faith in the value of social work, I go to visit a small city, for there one sees so clearly the genuine opportunity for leadership which it affords. We have long since ceased to believe that small cities have no problems, but not many, I think,

realize how wide-spread among them is the interest in these problems and how, in spite of much ignorance, people are seeking solutions and are eagerly awaiting help in the task. This growing sense of social responsibility is an asset which has its corresponding danger. The enthusiasm of women's clubs for any form of social activity; the recognition by business men's associations of their responsibility for civic conditions; the spirit of social service in the churches; these are forces which we, as social workers, must utilize, for under proper direction they are a powerful lever for community regeneration; without wise leadership, however, they are not only wasted but sometimes delay the very ends they really seek to bring about. This rather vague sounding subject therefore, of leadership in smaller cities, is in reality a pressing and practical question. What organizations or groups should be responsible for utilizing and directing the social enthusiasm of a community? What methods make possible successful leadership?

Knowledge the First Requisite.

Of the various elements constituting leadership probably the most fundamental is knowledge—knowledge of the goal we seek, of the difficulties that beset the way and of the means by which they may be overcome. Enthusiasm there must be, and the power to stimulate it in others. The generals who won lasting victories, however, were those who knew the strength of the foe, knew what resources they themselves could command, knew too, through years of technical study, how to organize these resources effectively against the foe.

Something of these same sober qualities are needed for leadership in social work. Before social workers are prepared for leadership they must have first a full knowledge of the conditions they seek to better, neither in an easy going spirit that belittles the existence of bad conditions nor with fatalistic feeling that the problems are too big to tackle and that there is no use fighting. The real leader secures first as accurate a picture as he can get of the strength of his enemy and of their vulnerable points. It is for this reason that a great opportunity for leadership comes to those organizations, whether they are called C. O. S., or Social Service Leagues, or by any other name, whose primary task is to help individual needy families, because the process of studying their needs and problems brings up a first hand, intimate knowledge of conditions. The alert, trained mind, even while busied with its daily service, will be getting hints as to the evils which are sapping the community's life.

In one rather self-satisfied community an associated charities worker almost from the start discovered bad sanitary conditions in a city still too small to believe that it needed any housing ordinances; a large number of degenerate families, but no S. P. C. C., and a court that hesitated to break up families because of public opinion; children kept from school so that the mother could go out to work and a truant officer who thought this permissible; evils very evident in the day-to-

day contacts of a visitor though quite unrealized by the average citizen.

To fill out and develop the knowledge thus secured a survey of the community has now been made, public interest awakened, some bitterness aroused but only enough to prove stimulating. Not only have those deeply interested now at hand information on which to base intelligent community activities, but they will also have the co-operation of many people who had before only a vague sense of good will toward the unfortunate, but who had never known the conditions they were tolerating.

Or take another type, a pleasant suburb of a large city, proud of its shady streets, its lovely homes, its good schools, but quite unconscious of the existence on its back streets of serious family problems. Only the physician in charge of the medical inspection of school children realized the need and stimulated the organization of a Social Service League. Beginning with its definite service to the individual poor families it found much uncared for sickness and is now paying the salary for a few months of a visiting nurse with the expectation that the board of health will eventually take her work over; it found a desperate need for wholesome recreation for the young people, and is now preparing the way for the use of the schools as recreational centers. These conditions had long existed; the community was public spirited, but waited for some one to discover the actual problems and lead in plans for their solution.

Such thoughtful understanding of the facts likewise prevents the waste of valuable philanthropic activity in fighting needs which do not exist or which are not serious. Formal surveys are undoubtedly going to provide some of this material. It is evident, however, that in smaller cities it is rarely going to be possible to finance such projects and that the understanding of community needs must be acquired rather through family rehabilitation work. Moreover, even where a general survey has been made the success of the remedies it proposes must be tested by their reaction on individual families. Too often kindly intentioned philanthropists are but Don Quixotes tilting at windmills. In one small community there was a tuberculosis association with a paid secretary which knew of only fifteen cases of the disease. There was, however, no organization interested in housing though there were abominable sanitary conditions and the board of health recorded more cases of typhoid each year than of tuberculosis. First hand acquaintance with the conditions under which the poor people lived indicated the need for a good board of health to cope with both of these and kindred health problems.

Campaigns Must Be Well Planned.

When we know what the conditions are, how are we to remedy them? I have referred in the analogy of the general and his army to the need of his long preliminary study of the technique of fighting, the arduous years at West Point with their drill in higher mathematics and other

abstract studies, though the young soldier must sometimes feel that this drill has little relation to his future success. For us a training not yet so highly developed is still essential. The detailed discussion of it will follow in Miss Anderson's paper. Enough to say here that of such leadership in social work a paid trained worker is a necessary part.

Especially in the smaller city is some all around technical preparation necessary. Here the tasks that in the large city are in the hands of many specialists, must be concentrated in the hands of one person. Moreover the group interested in social problems is likely to be small. Many of the smaller cities isolated somewhat from the centers of social thinking must find their inspiration and ideas within their own circle. For these reasons it is doubly important that as one of the group who are to lead social work in that community there should be a trained, experienced, paid social worker.

Moreover the task of organization can more easily be undertaken by one outside who stands somewhat aloof. Every town has cliques and groups, sometimes not very friendly, whose enthusiasm must be co-ordinated. Often, too, there are among the respected citizens of the town those whose property interests might be affected by a campaign such as that for improved housing or child labor legislation. In one instance known to me there was a physician of good standing against whom action for malpractice had to be taken. In such circumstances the leader in the fight may well be one, who, coming from without the town, has no personal relations to make a fearless attitude impossible.

For all communities of over ten thousand, and if possible for groups of smaller towns, or for county units, a trained worker from outside is one essential for successful co-ordination of social action.

But is the paid trained worker able to fight the battle alone? Surely not. Without the Rough Riders, enthusiastic though untrained, the tale of San Juan might have been different. For the essence of leadership is to know all our possible sources of strength and skill and devotion and so to organize them that they contribute to the total effect. Without leadership time and devotion may be of little value; with it they are invincible.

So the second step in our campaign is to organize all the forces of the community under this leader.

In most small cities the number of people accustomed to carrying out the problems of organization is not large. Neither is there money or work enough to demand many strong executives. Social betterment work will probably be most effective, therefore, if there is one strong central organization with a paid executive of genuine ability. This central group will hold itself responsible for studying conditions, for making a program for future activities and co-ordinating the activities of individuals or groups in carrying it out. It will, that is, provide the essential of leadership which will increase the effectiveness of the work of all and will bring about fruitful results.

All societies, or groups, women's clubs, church societies, civic as-

sociations, boards of trade, etc., however small, which wish to do some good work, should have their part in making this program as well as in carrying it out, interpreting to the outside paid worker the spirit of the community and its need. This program, as Mr. McLean said, should be a mapping out of the order in which new social activities should be taken up, and should indicate in which lines certain agencies should help.

Practical Values of a Well Co-ordinated Program.

Such a genuine joint program worked out on the basis of actual conditions is of the utmost practical importance for those who are leading in social work. Even in such cities the activities are too often developed in an unrelated, haphazard fashion. We need to look at the social problems of our community as a unit, to the solution of which long continued and varied activities are essential. Leadership means vision —consciousness of the far reaching results of present efforts and the endeavor to relate them to the final solution of our problems.

Such a plan might conceivably be worked out by a central body consisting of delegates from the various societies in the town. Without a strong central organization, however, that knows conditions through its contact with dependent families, such plans are likely to become less concrete and sane, less definitely suited to actual conditions. In the second place, without an organization doing intensive work with families the best of our general preventive campaigns lose half their effectiveness. Tuberculosis, housing, infant welfare and juvenile delinquency are all parts of family problems, and unless we are intelligently working out the problem of the family as a whole we cannot be assured that we can solve any fragment of it. Therefore in a small city any plan looking either to the reconstruction of a community or to the lessening of its misery, must have as its keynote the conservation of the interests of those families that need help or counsel, and the application to these individual cases of the more general campaigns.

Moreover, one may say frankly that in carrying out a program involving the co-operation of many agencies and individuals some executive center is necessary to bind together the activities of all into a practical unity. Without such central leadership there is danger that the program will be lost sight of in the carrying out of the details.

It is a matter probably of administrative detail, rather than of principle, as to how many lines of work shall be directly undertaken by the central society and how many by independent organizations. In cities of less than 50,000 it is desirable probably that the central organization shall undertake all tasks which immediately concern families in their homes, tuberculosis, visiting, nursing, housing, etc., but that all institutional work shall be in the hands of independent agencies.

The problem of the family in its home is a unit, and therefore all activities in its behalf are logically related even though they approach this problem from different angles. If they are under one management, a certain definite gain in unity of purpose and ideals is likely to

result. On the other hand the maintenance of institutions introduces a wholly new type of problems and may distract attention from the family and community.

It is not enough, however, in planning the campaign, to secure the support only of organizations. A true leader will be able to find room for every individual who will volunteer. May I emphasize the need for using to the full, both volunteer personal service and also what Prof. Patten calls income altruism. Many social reforms can be accomplished only through the force of a vigorous and educated public opinion which shall stand for progressive legislation or through the willingness of the taxpayer to accept an increased rate when new community activities necessitate it. Two campaigns of education were needed to persuade one community to vote the bonds for a new almshouse though the old one had long since been condemned by the state board of health as a menace to the health and safety of its inmates.

Necessity of Community Conviction.

Neither the paid worker nor the few who have real enthusiasm for social betterment can achieve much unless the community value the task. Moreover, in small cities, such interest and influence can make themselves so directly felt. To get this general interest, we must make our cause live in the thoughts of the whole community. Not only must we seek money, but service,—and service so co-ordinated as to produce its greatest effect. Even in our small cities many groups and individuals with an eager desire to serve need only some leader who can show them their part in the battle. There are many tasks in the work with individual families which can be better done by volunteers with their fresh point of view and varied contacts, than by the often wearied and sometimes depressed paid worker. Moreover, nothing will give these volunteers so vivid a sense of the actual problems of the poor, and send them back so eager to take a part in more general campaigns. Paid social workers do not monopolize the interest and devotion and intelligence of the community. There really are for instance, college women of means who are eager to do some real work in the world, and whose help we should not scorn. With professional workers this point needs frequent re-emphasis, lest in our rightful faith in the value of training and experience we lose sight of the need of other people for opportunities to express their social faith and enthusiasm. I believe that no social worker has fulfilled his responsibility even when he accomplishes the particular end he had in view, if he has not made his aims clear to the community as a whole, and has not given an opportunity for each individual to take a part, however small, in the attainment. Let us not as professional workers allow ourselves to believe that we are the whole army. Leadership is our privilege, but it is a barren privilege unless it means that behind it is the great marching force of the community. With a clear knowledge of the evils to be overcome, with a definite plan of campaign, with the enthusiasm to win and to train new recruits, the battle will be an inspiring one, even though the victory is not yet.

TRAINING IN SMALLER CITIES.

Miss Harriet E. Anderson, General Secretary Associated Charities, Louisville, Kentucky.

The smaller city affords the opportunity for an all-round look at social activities. Although the work is not so comprehensive as in a larger city, nevertheless the same general and fundamental principles prevail. The workers are often personal friends and because of this and the smaller number of organizations and people, they may understand each other better.

The first difficulty in the smaller city is to define the difference between training and experience. Experience counts so tremendously in the average mind, that coupled with good intentions and ability to talk fluently, it passes for perfection. If in a rare person the idea has lodged that training is a definite study of causes and effects of civic conditions and the resources of amelioration, then there is hope, and that person may be taken in hand cheerfully.

In the very beginning the student in the smaller city has about the same drudgery as the one in the larger city. He studies record keeping, including all the tabulations of families. Nobody knows how to file, everybody has to be taught the alphabet, whether he begins in New York or Beaver Dam. Later, under the head of clerical work, the student learns to make a monthly relief report that means something, shows some signs of life, and approaches the truth. After that, he ventures to look a financial report squarely in the face. There is no branch of the work that is more badly handled, judging by the annual reports which we receive, and we believe it is just as important to give instruction in this line as in the resources of the city. Since numbers of workers go from the smaller city to take charge of work in even smaller communities, it is necessary also to give them as much as possible of committee work, advertising, and public speaking.

The first acquaintance with other organizations of the city is made when the worker comes into touch with them while working with a given family. The student ought not only to know the general purpose of the related organizations, but ought to visit them and learn the details of management and method.

In writing records, the workers begin early in the training to write their own, under supervision. They thus learn rapid and clear expression and to avoid the use of such words as, "I believe," "I think," "I suppose," "evidently" and the other valueless and baffling expressions. Incidentally the use of the typewriter is learned, which is important for one whose next position may be in a town where he may have little or no assistance. I grant that the poor records suffer from this method of teaching, but the student certainly gains.

The "spirit of tackle" is about the hardest thing to teach a student. He wants to solve family problems by the bulk, he wants some rules

for saving people, he wants to know before he goes to see a family what he is to do when he gets there. All widows with children, all drunken husbands he wants to put under some formula for treatment. If inside of a year, the student sees that every family is a new family, that he must get the background and foreground of the family experience, that he must work from what he definitely knows about the family to the point of what may be accomplished for them, there are possibilities in that student. This dealing calmly with one point that is certain and definite, before proceeding to think of the problem as a large and overwhelming whole is what I mean by the "spirit of tackle."

In the past, charity organizations have spent a good deal of time telling their contributors what they were doing, but have not given much attention to informing the visiting nurses, schools, and correctional institutions. When the staff of the Associated Charities has a fair working knowledge of the resources of the city, the work is only half done, if good family work is the aim. The workers in other social organizations must be shown what the Associated Charities is doing and how things are done. A truant officer, a visiting nurse, a church visitor and a relief society worker may all see the same family on the same day. Unless they know each other's departments, there is bound to be misunderstanding, for the family cannot sift all the advice which they are sure to get. Furthermore, every worker I am sure, has had experience with the remarkable promises made to a family as to what some other organization could be expected to do for them.

The Case Committee in Louisville.

Louisville is trying to bring about a greater understanding of case work among the different social organizations and to this end has formed a Case Committee, composed of representatives from them. There are many organizations to study civic problems. This Case Committee is the only one that studies specific family problems, their needs, and treatment. The Case Committee began three years ago with a sane young minister and two women. At first the workers hesitated about joining the committee because they feared that it meant betraying confidences and because there was more or less jealousy between organizations. These fears have largely been allayed and at present, there are thirty members, including settlement workers, juvenile court officers, visiting nurses and relief society and church visitors, practically all paid workers. The family problems are introduced by one of the organizations working on a family, either for the purpose of asking advice as to treatment or to ask the direct co-operation of another organization. Mere story-telling has been rather successfully ruled out. The discussions are frank and decisive, no family problem being abandoned until some line of treatment is decided upon. A record of the decision is placed upon the minutes and at the succeeding meeting the responsible agency reports results. The present freedom of speech came very slowly and only because of the actual demonstration that better work could be done

with families, if all the workers concerned worked toward a certain definite end. The Case Committee does not pretend to discuss all families under treatment, it is simply the beginning of consultation and the place where the hardest problems are worked out.

A desire for further study on social subjects was the second gain from the Case Committee. After the various workers found out more about their own city, they wanted to know more about others and the great national problems. To satisfy this need, the committee decided to give half an hour a month to a book review. One worker was appointed to conduct the review, and a book of general social interest was chosen.

The third gain as a result of the Case Committee was the demand for lectures on local problems and local and general civic conditions. The Health Department was called upon to explain the provisions of the tenement house law, the care of food and the control of contagious diseases. Practical housekeepers were invited to give some of the most approved methods of household economy. In this connection Miss Byington's, *What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communties*, has been invaluable. Talks have been made by members of the committee and by those outsiders qualified to speak on particular subjects, all local people. The next step planned is to affiliate this study class feature with the University of Louisville.

The fourth gain from the Case Committee work is the desire for universal registration. To meet this demand a Social Service Exchange is in process of organization. A few years ago no one would have registered a name. The idea would have seemed cruel in the extreme. But after talking over some families, it soon became evident that all families not discussed should at least be registered. The co-operation with the Associated Charities and among the other organizations improved from the beginning, and now the desire for agreement and registration is almost unanimous.

After the student in training has mastered the purely clerical work, has met weekly with the Case Committee, has learned the people who help and the multitudes of ways of helping, there remains a something to be given him which is most important of all. It is that "something" which Mr. Bicknell taught Chicago—that social work like all professional work is not done by the hour nor paid for by the dollar; that the worker must give his all and expect an intangible and postponed reward; that the best is none too good for the work which needs to be done.

That training for smaller cities is essential, I know by experience, having spent my earlier years in the work in a small city working with more or less guidance and having observed others in the same position. I am prepared to corroborate the statement that has been made many times during this Conference, that no organization is too small to demand a trained worker. Without training families are handled in a temporary manner, experiences are not interpreted and the community does not reap much lasting benefit from the effort put forth.

Moreover, I believe that no one in social work is ever a finished

product. The longer we study, the more we become convinced of the intricacies of our problems and of our own faulty handling of them, the more necessary is it always to maintain the attitude of mind of being in training if we are going to grow with our communities and be truly helpful to them.

DISCUSSION.

Charles C. Stillman, Secretary Associated Charities, St. Paul, Minnesota.

I wish Mrs. Glenn had surveyed the "gains in methods of investigation and treatment" and had estimated the "ground to be covered." She could have done it marvelously well; and we expected it of her; and we are the losers because of Mrs. Glenn's reluctance to minister to our real need and draw out of our minds a response to such a presentation.

It is a suggestive analogy—the education of Mr. Galsworthy in art and the crescent appreciation of the value of case work. The former has to deal with the appreciation of a finished product; the latter is concerned with raw material. We are beginning to hear the patter of several feet on the way to that very gallery, and although it is true that there is an increasing horde of patent-medicine social workers who believe in the cure-all properties of a bottle of legislative dope, nevertheless evidence is not wanting that Mrs. Glenn's ideal of untiring persistence in a good work is animating our case workers here and there, and that the need of good case work is gradually boring its way into the minds of some people heretofore considered hopeless, with a fair degree of assurance that the boring process will open the way for the permanent residence of an idea.

We take pleasure in the contention of the paper that our work is based on emotion, bolstered up, modified if necessary, by "enlarging intellectual effort." Dr. Devine opens his book on "The Family and Social Work" with the sentence: "This volume is written to make clear the essentially religious character of social work and to emphasize its emotional appeal." Case workers should not be slow to avow this close connection between their work and elemental religion.

I presume we need exhortation along the line of persistence in work, granting that we tread a lonely way. There is no trouble about persisting with the crowd. But the easy way out does not usually lead to the right gate. It is getting fashionable to discredit the plodding workers with families whose chief heresy is in demanding knowledge, personal effort and the sanctifying influence of time. There are those who are willing to follow the crowd, even though it involves an abbreviated code. "When you are in Rome, do as the Romans do," is the proverb supposed to be the panacea for the cure of all unpleasantness arising from independence in thought and action. It is time we were

revising that hypocritical, gray-haired suggestion to make it read: "When you are in Rome do as the Roman's *don't*."

This matter of departure from what might be considered the normal in case treatment will be no trouble if we are sure of Mrs. Glenn's next point, viz.: the significant facts. The face card is to the case what the Sabbath is to man. The former was made for the latter. This doctrine may have its dangers, but let us not fall into the *vice versa* slough of routine. A full record is usually evidence of a good investigation, but when a worker thinks more of records than of results and becomes "harder with years," his days are as a fleeting shadow, and blessed be the board of directors which speeds up the fleeting process.

And as to compromise, I would say that we ought to school ourselves to appraise the other fellow's work by starting with *his* premises in the case—judge by *his* standards. We are trying to get him to do that with us. If we are right we can afford to be gracious, though graciousness is not the exposure of a white feather where there ought to be a raven gloss. Compromise is not surrender but a concession or two made with no violence to either intellect or conscience. Really, you know, someone else may have a bit of wisdom to contribute to the discussion—not much, of course, but just a little. Mrs. Glenn again nails her proposition fast by intimating that we can afford to compromise as much as intelligent people will desire us to, provided we have learned how to "find rather than to give" and have become "creators rather than jobbers." In other words, we are in a position to talk compromise with safety when we know all the facts in the case, can show right appreciation of the situation, have oiled up the family machinery, and have a reason for the hope that is in us.

A great thought in the paper is that one which has been brought to us at many different angles at various times, but the contemplation of which always makes us feel good: the cultivation of a great faith in the "reaction of human beings to efforts made in their behalf." After all, this is our city of refuge. With this faith, we will go it alone if necessary, we will persevere, we will deep-sea-dive for the pearls, we will work with other organizations, we will study and study and never quit school, and we will enthuse over one of the hardest, one of the most necessary, and one of the most religious kinds of service on God's green earth today.

DISCUSSION.

Miss Virginia McMechen, Secretary Charity Organization Society, Seattle.

Mrs. Glenn's paper outlines, in the first place, the attitude of mind that the case worker should bring to his work; in other words, the complex qualifications that case work requires. In the second place, it notes the shifting of allegiance on the part of case workers.

In the words of Mrs. Glenn, "case discipline calls for a readiness

of mind to work if need be alone, to be open minded, to be ready to sift the chaff from the wheat, to persist in one's job, to see value in the work of others, and to avoid luke-warmness. The case worker must possess courage above the average, broad toleration, keen discrimination, constancy, faith in ideals, spiritual discernment."

Secondly, Mrs. Glenn says, "I am ready to criticize only those who, having enlisted under one banner, through lack of faith or failure to think the situation through, have shifted their allegiance."

In a large eastern city, I visited the Associated Charities and asked, "What do you pay your visiting agents?" "Thirty dollars a month," was the reply, "but we have one young woman who recently graduated from Madison University to whom we pay $40." What do you pay your stenographers?" I asked. "We pay them from fifty to sixty dollars per month. You can't get a good stenographer for less." And yet in the delicate ministry of working with human destinies the price paid compared favorably with that of laundry work. The woman who gave me this information had spent the best years of her life in acquiring skill in case work and was now directing others. I did not ask her what she was getting but, judging from the other salaries paid, I concluded that she might be drawing $75. She had been faithful to her first call. She looked as though she had never had time to relax. Had she any special obligations in life? Were there any dependent upon her efforts, as there are upon the majority of the women workers of the world? Was she able to save anything toward an occasional needed rest, which would have added to the strength and beauty of her work? I did not know. I only recognized in her the type of a tragedy I had seen before. Minimum standards of living, minimum wages, and minimum hours of service apparently apply to all classes except that of the social worker. The question of allegiance is an interesting one in the light of these facts, and we may well ask whether the case worker's shifting of allegiance is due chiefly to lack of faith and failure to see the situation through, or whether, in common with the vast army of the world's workers, the case worker also, in response to a universal impulse, is seeking an environment in which he too may find his fullest expression.

DISCUSSION.

Miss Ruth Arnold, Secretary Visiting Nurses' Association, Bristol, Connecticut.

I agree with Miss Anderson that the smaller city affords "an all around look at social activities." One who is called to organize charities in the smaller city, moreover, is likely to be called upon for an indefinite number and variety of duties, more than merely case work. The worker has to be all things to all men—an encyclopedia of information, a repository for complaints, a bureau for consultation—the one to whom all turn for advice regarding community problems.

This one charity worker must be ready to serve as probation officer, advisory member of committees, church worker, lecturer, employment agent, visitor in families, clerk and stenographer and investigator.

As to the question, what training is necessary, I should say, all the training one can possibly secure of all kinds, but the kind most needed is the executive training and that in methods for dealing with families. Although there can be no hard and fast rules for case work, still there are many invaluable lessons learned by training, which surely assist the amateur. To be a success, one must have, in addition to the training, a willingness to learn something from the experience of all other existing societies or institutions in said smaller community.

The following characteristics are desirable:

1. Versatility, for one may be called upon to superintend wall papering, preside at women's clubs, sit up through wakes.
2. Adaptability, for one must associate with all nationalities and in all walks of life—to be friends with all.
3. Breadth of view, in order to offend none and be true to one's principles and amalgamate all classes for the work's sake.
4. Executive ability, for one must manage
    1. A Board of Directors,
    2. A Case Conference,
    3. Office Assistants,
    4. Friendly Visitors.

And, in addition, of course, are desirable, tact, good judgment, resourcefulness and the many other characteristics which a social worker should be born with and that no training can fully supply.

In consulting with various workers in smaller undistricted cities, I learn that the need for training is felt principally when it comes to organizing new forms of work and in dealing with community problems. One candidate for the foreign missionary field once told me that she felt the need of training along every line possible before going to China —knowledge both legal, medical, academic, business, domestic, scholastic and even, when all these kinds of knowledge had been mastered, she might fail of something in an emergency, but she must trust to common sense and good judgment to save her. I think social workers feel about the same—we must have our quiver full and must continue to replenish our supply constantly.

DISCUSSION.

V. R. Manning, Secretary Associated Charities, Portland, Oregon.

Surely the paper which we have just heard, luminous with the vital principles of our service, must come to the brethren of the C. O. S. as bugle notes of victory from one who has marched in the van.

It reached a certain secretary when seized with one of Saul's black

fits and like David's sweet music the new-old message cured the disorder. The community had rushed into hasty legislation, and the readjustment fell, one more burden upon the workers' shoulders; a yellow journal had attacked the association, a representative of another welfare agency had forgotten the ideal of charitable solidarity. Then his lieutenant, a woman who had thrown in weight that counted, came to say she could no longer bear the strain. She could be useful in some less arduous calling. She had done her best; let someone else take up the burden. Silently he handed her the paper. She read it and once more she "hitched up to the magnificent job which never can be finished."

President Eliot in an address congratulated President Gilman of Johns Hopkins University on the association with high minded and unselfish men which his new duties would bring to him and this is one of the precious privileges of our calling—the common ideal of life and its purpose furnishes the basis for the richest comradeship, and what basis can be nobler than the basis of sacrificial service.

Dr. Cabot says that social work is one of the dangerous trades involving strains, wounds and dislocations, and I suppose that most of us are sometimes tempted to say *cui bona*. But when we glance back at the history of the nation and see even with our short vision the big things that our fathers did—those men who in the infancy of the movement saw the star of social justice rise in the far distant sky over the hills of pain and with infinite courage followed it through the desert we are ashamed to have even winced.

As Dr. Cabot says, "The risk and danger are become a stimulant." We see the ideas our fathers fought for built into the walls of schools, hospitals and prisons, and written in the laws of our states. Because of their courage thousands of unprivileged children have their chance today. The squalid poverty of forty years ago is no longer with us. The idea of reforming rather than punishing our criminals is slowly gaining ground—the insane are more efficiently and humanely treated. The pioneers worked in masses, each one contributing just a little bit, in inconspicuousness and obscurity. Did they get the glory? No. You know how Kipling puts the spirit of the pioneer.

The real pioneer did the work like a man in the dark. After all, the mighty forces that have made the world are not the conspicuous ones but those that have worked in obscurity and silence; and it is so today. The forces that are molding the world are silent, inconspicuous, unobserved.

This is what kindles in our hearts sublime enthusiasm. We are part of that silent, inconspicuous, unobserved force, that great ethical movement that is shaping social justice. A traveler in the mountains of the south visited several villages, which were mere collections of shacks, the children playing in rags and filth in the streets, the women anaemic and apathetic, everywhere poverty and wretchedness. One day he came to a village of a different character. The houses were neater. There was evidence of thrift. The children were cleaner and more intelli-

gent. There was a general order of well being and self respect. On inquiry he learned that a friendly visitor from a neighboring charity organization spent her summers there, and so the influence of the society had moved across the mountains. It was nebulous and intangible, but none the less powerful and irresistible in its progress and in the sublety and persistence of its action.

Well, I know who'll take the credit—
All the clever chaps that followed
Came a dozen men together,
Never knew my desert fears,
Tracked me by the camps I'd quitted,
Used the water holes I'd hollowed;
They'll go back and do the talking;
They'll be called the pioneers.

Each quiet man and woman going about his work today with faith in our method and ideals, is a part of this great welding force. We belong to one army that has marched half way up to the mountain where the star still shines over the Holy Kingdom. We can look back upon the desert and down upon the plain. If each one realizes that his life is an assignment and, whatever the assignment may be, does his work and renders the service whether as executive or as private in the ranks, some day he shall reach that Temple.

Minutes of the Meetings

Saturday, July 5th—Opening Meeting.

The opening meeting was held in the Metropolitan Opera House and was called to order by Rev. Sydney Strong. Rev. Herbert H. Gowen, D. D., made the invocation, after which the audience arose and sang, "My Country 'Tis of Thee." In opening the meeting the chairman said:

Rev. Sydney Strong.

The Chairman of the Committee on Entertainment is called upon to say certain things that should not be left unsaid at the opening of the 40th National Conference of Charities and Correction.

The thoroughly democratic fashion in which the preparations have been carried through is worthy of note as recording the wide response on the part of the community. Every interest has participated.

The Central Council of Social Agencies, to which fell the honor of acting as host, is the closest local counterpart, in its representative character, to the National Conference itself. With the Mayor of the city at once the official father and honorary president, with over fifty social agencies, ranging all the way from labor unions to commercial bodies, from medical societies to the public schools, and including all accredited relief agencies, the Central Council, embracing practically all of the social agencies of the community, is an expression of the universal interest in your coming.

One hundred and fifty persons worked on the regular committees. These do not include hundreds of others who have contributed time and thought. It will be well to mention a few details, not for display or as an exhibit, but to reveal the wide-spread participation in the work of preparation.

Three months ago a committee on Personal Promotion, under the chairmanship of Professor J. K. Hart, was organized. This committee has supplied scores of speakers to societies, clubs, conventions, churches, etc. The campaign took the chairman as far east as Lewiston, Idaho. The burden of these addresses has been, Prepare for the coming of the National Conference of Charities and Correction!

The committee on Membership, under the chairmanship of Miss Virginia MeMechen, early raised the slogan, "One thousand new members for the Conference!" Letters were sent out to 4,000 carefully selected people, residing from San Diego to Victoria, B. C. Much voluntary labor on this committee is acknowledged. Up-to-date the committee has secured over three hundred $2.50 memberships, and the best is yet to be. Membership carries with it a 500-page report of the Conference and the honor of sustaining a good cause.

The committee on Registration, with Miss B. I. Beals as chairman, is in the midst of its labor. In point of efficiency, it speaks for itself. Acknowledgment is made to the Federal Government for installing a post-office, to the Western Union Telegraph Company for installing a station, and to the Pacific Telephone Company for extra 'phone service. Special acknowledgment is made to the Seattle Business College for furnishing

free of charge, throughout the Conference, the services of two stenographers and two clerks.

The committee on Reception and Excursions, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Fred W. Bert, Jr., has been tireless in its attention to details to provide and not over-provide for the comfort and pleasures of the guests.

The Publicity Committee, under the chairmanship of Rabbi Samuel Koch, got under way three months ago; some work having been previously done. The work of the present committee was roughly divided into (1) Local, (2) State, (3) Coast, (4) General. Locally the dailies have been exceedingly generous in the space afforded; the suburban dailies and weeklies—labor, commercial, religious, health, etc.—have been regularly supplied with material.

The halls for the use of the Conference have been furnished by the Chamber of Commerce through the committee on conventions of the Bureau of Industry and Exploitation, with R. H. Mattison secretary, this amounting to a gift of over $1,000. The Chamber was the earliest promoter for securing the Conference for Seattle, some three years ago, its representatives presenting a pressing invitation at the St. Louis meeting.

The efforts of the Halls Committee through Dr. Gowen and Mr. McBride have been made difficult from the fact that the city possesses no central auditorium fitted for convention purposes. The meeting of the National Conference re-emphasizes this imperative need of our community.

When the Central Council of Social Agencies, some three months ago, was asked to assume the pleasant duty of arranging for the Conference, there was only one thorn with the rose. As usual, it was the financial problem. Almost immediately, however, the Rotary Club, at the suggestion of one of its members, voted to undertake the raising of the necessary funds, and appointed a finance committee with Mr. Graham K. Betts as Chairman. This burden being thus royally assumed and carried—the club having done it as a bit of public service—the work of preparation has been comparatively light.

These details have been mentioned to describe the thoroughly democratic procedure in which preparations have been made. It is the hands of the people of the community that have arranged the setting for your deliberations. It is the heart of the community that has anticipated your coming.

The Chairman: I have intimated that a specific work has been done by the Industrial Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce. We shall now have a greeting from Mr. A. L. Kempster, Chairman of the Convention Committee of that Bureau.

Mr. A. L. Kempster—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: On behalf of the Convention Committee of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce I am here tonight to bid you welcome. We of this far western country and of the Puget Sound believe that in choosing Seattle you have chosen wisely. I trust that, inspired not alone by the faith and ideals which each one of you workers in this great cause possesses, but also by Nature's marvelous works in this great state of Washington, your deliberations will bear rich fruit, and your efforts prove a blessing to humanity.

The Chairman: I now ask Mr. E. L. Skeel, President of the Rotary Club, to speak:

E. L. Skeel, of the Rotary Club.

It is with pleasure that I join in welcoming the delegates and visitors to this conference of such wide significance. For four years the people of Seattle have lived in the hope and expectation of entertaining this convention and we are gratified beyond measure that our ambition is now realized.

The business community in particular has anxiously awaited your coming, not only for the pleasure of entertaining you but because we have come to realize the business significance of the work you are doing and the business necessity of its continuance and extension. It is refreshing to observe that the social work in our country, instead of being left to private benevolence and individual attention as formerly, is today being studied with the scientific care it deserves, that it is being conducted in an organized way on the same principles of efficiency which would characterize the conduct of the most successful business enterprise, that it attains results and avoids waste, and that its ultimate object is not only to alleviate those in distress and correct those who are weak, but to build out of the distressed and weak a body of useful, self-sustaining citizens.

Such a work, conducted in such a manner, merits the good will and support of every business man and of every public-spirited organization. But the business man must not stop with his good will and financial support. He owes the further duty of informing himself thoroughly so as to contribute to the formation of a public sentiment and the enactment of laws which will be in aid of the work of this conference. The state of Washington is not derelict in this. We are among the first to enact the Workmen's Compensation Act, which although capable of improvement in detail, is now generally approved and which results in each industry automatically bearing the burden of supporting those who, through its hazard, have suffered an impairment of earning power.

We of the West while not yet burdened, practically speaking, with slums, nor menaced by the appalling social problems which confront the more congested districts of our country, and while endowed by nature with those healthful conditions of life which serve as a strong preventive to the only ills of which I speak, are nevertheless not unmindful of our responsibility. Our present comparatively happy condition only makes more imperative our duty to study our coming problems and prepare for the future. And it is our hope that this conference will educate our people and point out in specific terms along what lines our efforts should be directed. It is fitting and significant that the same year that witnesses the practical completion of the Panama Canal, which brings the new problems of immigration upon us, should also see a National Conference on the Pacific Coast studying this problem and devising ways to meet it.

In conclusion, I again bid you welcome. The people of our city join in your entertainment. We hope you will be impressed with our climate, a summer paradise, with our mountains and our lakes, and that when you return to your homes you will speak not only of these things and our hospitality but of our willing desire to co-operate in the great work in which you are engaged.

A special booklet of Social Service Songs for use at the meetings of the conference had been prepared by the Central Council of Social Agencies. The song, "Seattle," was sung by the audience.

The Chairman: I have very great pleasure in asking Mayor George F. Cotterill to speak to you.

Mayor Geo. F. Cotterill.

Seattle welcomes the National Conference of Charities and Correction. You have come to a city and to a people who rejoice in the pleasure of greeting good men and women from throughout our common country. We welcome the privilege of sharing with you the beauties of our landscape and the comforts of our summer climate. We have just pride in exhibiting our civic accomplishments and exalting the strategic opportunity which points the finger of destiny towards Seattle as a world-city of the future.

It has been no mean task to transform sixty square miles of rugged nature from the primeval forest to a twentieth century municipality equipped with all the modern facilities enjoyed by any other community on earth. Yet nineteen-twentieths of the Seattle you see about you is the product of a quarter-century, and two-thirds of it has been accomplished in half that period.

While thus conquering and adapting nature to human needs, Seattle has been working out the greater problems of assembling, assimilating and creating a new community of now nearly three hundred thousand souls. If America be the "melting-pot of the nations," what shall we style this composite Seattle of ours? Seventy-two per cent. of our population is American born, yet only about 30 per cent. are natives of the state of Washington, and practically all these are still minors. The remaining 42 per cent. have been drawn from throughout the Union, each state contributing its quota, but those of the Central West, like Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, Michigan and Ohio, leading the procession. Twenty-eight per cent. of our population is foreign-born, representing all the British domains at home and abroad as well as every nation of Europe. It is interesting to note that in these contributions of foreign population our neighbor, the Dominion of Canada, leads, with Sweden, Norway, Germany and England following in the order named Thus far the nations of Southern, Central and Eastern Europe have contributed but 17 per cent. of our people of foreign birth, or about 5 per cent. of the entire community, but it is significant that even this small proportion is three times that which prevailed in 1900. The Oriental population is 3 per cent. of the total, six-sevenths of it Japanese, one-seventh Chinese.

This composite American and cosmopolitan community of Seattle has but one per cent. of illiteracy in its total population over ten years of age, and but one-tenth of one per cent. as applied to its native white population. Our people are paying more per capita for public education, from the kindergarten to the State University, than is being contributed by any large city in America. This is being cheerfully done during the period while the same people are bearing burdens of public improvements to create a modern metropolis within a decade, at a rate and a cost never exceeded in any municipal history, and only made possible here by the patriotism of a people imbued with the destiny of their city and the need of building broadly for a great future.

It is to such a city in the making—a city of today ever thinking, planning and building for tomorrow—that Seattle bids you welcome. We realize full well that we shall receive far more of inspiration and instruction from a National Conference like this, than we can possibly hope to give by way of greeting and hospitality.

The Opportunity of the Conference.

You come to Seattle at a time when we need you, not for the narrow, literal purpose that the name "Charities and "Correction" might seem to suggest, but in the broad, deep, preventive sense to which your thoughts, discussions and observations of experience are ever devoted. Directly ahead of Seattle lies an uncharted path of great opportunities and tremendous responsibility. We believe that it leads on to the destiny of greatness we have long cherished; we know there are problems that must be met which will prove perils unless we prepare for them and solve them safely.

A new era is dawning for the Pacific Coast of America as the Panama Canal pierces the barrier of the ages and flashes forth a new sunrise of commerce upon our western world. Shall it bring progress and prosperity, or must we repeat in this favored land the age-old perversions of "progress and poverty?"

Let me remind you today that this Pacific Coast is the last of the

West! I am not speaking merely in a national sense, but I am thinking of that great march of civilization and humanity, ever westward for twenty-five centuries and more of recorded history. In slang parlance, our Eastern friends have oft twitted us as having gone clear out to the "jumping-off place." That is exactly where we are. The great onward and upward movement of humanity always striving for expansive opportunity began in Asia; it swept westward over Europe and spent twenty centuries in its development; it groped westward over an unknown sea and found a new continent for its enterprise; during four centuries past its energies have been creating our America, at first a fringe along the Atlantic, then over the Appalachians to the great interior valleys and across the prairies; at last a rippling of the more ambitious and venturesome over the Rocky Mountain backbone of the continent and on to the Golden Gate and the Pacific Northwest.

That which has thus far come to this truly Western or Pacific America, is but a ripple as compared to the full stream of population which is yet to flow in this direction.

Think for a moment of the "four quarters of the earth." Consider Western Europe, within an area of five hundred miles eastward from the Atlantic, and between the Baltic and the Mediterranean. One hundred and eighty millions of population represent twenty-five centuries of development, less those who have been drawn further by the westward magnet. Cross the Atlantic, and within a similar area of 500 miles from the ocean, between the same parallels of lattitude, or from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, and there you find fifty-five millions of population as a result of three or four centuries of American development. Look at Pacific America, within the same latitude, or between Prince Rupert and San Diego, and in the 500 miles from the westerly base of the Rockies to the coast you find now but seven millions of population. As a climax to these world comparisons in the north temperate zone, cross the Pacific; and in a similar area of Eastern Asia, find nearly four hundred millions of Oriental population.

One hundred and eighty millions in Western Europe, fifty-five millions in Eastern America, seven millions in Pacific America, four hundred millions in Eastern Asia! What is the answer of the future?

Unless our Pacific America be lacking in the resources of nature which provide sustenance and opportunity for humanity, and thus the current of history be reversed, where else can the world's westward movement concentrate its force except along this Pacific Coast?

The Growth of the West.

The record of the past decade proves this tremendous force at work. Eastern America, within the area used in this comparison, had but seven millions of population in 1810. It grew from seven to fifty-five millions in a century, or at the rate of less than 25 per cent. average increase per decade. During the last decade, Pacific America—from the Rocky Mountains to the Coast—grew at the rate of 65 per cent. as a whole. The state of Washington increased 120 per cent. and the city of Seattle added 194 per cent. to her numbers. In other words, without the Panama Canal, Pacific America is increasing its population at nearly three times the average rate of Eastern America, while the state of Washington is growing at five times and the city of Seattle nearly eight times the rate by which Eastern America increased from seven millions to fifty-five millions in a century.

The Panama Canal opens a new Pacific America to western Europe, with ten times the open opportunities of Eastern America. With the "Call of the West" still attracting from the central and eastern portions of our own country, the combined American and direct European immigration bids fair to accelerate even our already marvelous rate of growth.

The million and a quarter of Washington population of today will be five to eight millions twenty-five years hence, unless all signs fail. If Seattle maintains her present proportion of one-fourth of the state population—and the tendency is for the commercial metropolis percentage to increase rather than decrease—that will mean 1¼ to 2 millions of population in Seattle a quarter-century hence.

This is the future which fascinates and yet ought to inspire us with a righteous fear. This current of humanity is coming upon us whether we will or no. We can no more order it to stay its force than could King Canute halt the rising tide. We must guide this current into safe channels, where it will bless and benefit. If we create or permit conditions which make for the congestion of slums in our cities, this current of immigration will tear and devastate our social structure. I believe it can fairly be said that Seattle is thus far a city without slums—in the Eastern or European sense of that term. We need the counsel and the experience of the best thought of the Nation, as represented in this National Conference, to inspire, to teach and to aid us to meet the old-new problems which lie directly ahead. We must avoid the errors and forestall the neglects which have made charities and correction so pitifully necessary and withal so wofully inadequate in older sections.

We welcome you to this last and best of the West! From California to Alaska it has already proved itself the "Golden West," but it can be made immeasurably more than that for human happiness, if we think clearly, plan wisely and act bravely.

On September 26th, 1513, the Spanish adventurer Balboa climbed a mountain peak of the Isthmus and was first of Occidental civilization to gaze upon the mightiest ocean of the globe. Descending to its beach he plunged into the rising tide waist-deep and with drawn sword sweeping its limitless prospect, he took possession of the great sea and all its coasts and islands in the name of his Spanish sovereigns. That was a futile act of sovereignty, though characteristic of its day and age. Almost the exact four hundredth anniversary of that momentous discovery day will signalize the marriage of the oceans by the high priest of American genius and the endowment of world commerce with the results of American constructive resources. Shall we not strive to crown the greatness of material achievement with the grandeur of a humanitarian ideal, increasingly applied along the Panama path of progress? May we not hope to dedicate anew this great Pacific ocean and all its coasts and islands to a perpetual Era of International Peace; and especially along our American Pacific coast, for which we are to be peculiarly responsible, to proclaim the real sovereignty of Humanity, whose scepter is Justice and whose crown shall be studded with gems of fellow-service!

The Chairman: The Chair regrets to announce that Governor Lister is not here; and the Chair is unable to give a reason for his Honor's absence, but feels sure there must be a good reason because the Governor has taken a deep interest in this conference as shown by his correspondence. I have very great pleasure now in announcing Mrs. John M. Glenn, of New York, who will respond to the addresses of welcome that have been made.

Response by Mrs. John M. Glenn, of New York.

Mrs. Glenn spoke of the traveler noting, as he comes from the East on the Canadian Pacific railroad, the old Tote road which runs along the Fraser River, on the opposite bank from that along which runs the great railroad. As the traveler looks at the early feat of road building, he is struck by the intrepidity of the pioneers, who overcame such obstacles in their determination to reach the opening gold fields.

The old bridges are now crumbling, and the road bed is being covered by debris from the steep mountain side. The traveler realizes, however, that the builders of the old and the new roads were actuated each by dauntless daring, and felt the push of progress.

In looking back over the forty years of the Conference, one realizes that some old roads have been abandoned, in order that new roads may be traversed. When one thinks of the beginning of the Conference in Saratoga, N. Y., more than 40 years ago, one can realize how long has been the way. During these many years the members have been actuated not only by ardor, but by a fine serenity which has prevented the Conference from adopting platforms or hampering its action, from year to year by any collective pronouncements.

But something more fundamental than ardor or serenity has bound Conference meeting to Conference meeting, during these years that it has moved annually from North to South, and from East to West. In coming to this wonderful city of the Northwest, with her attitude of dauntless courage and her push for progress, the members can anticipate the inspiration which should be theirs. In this city with her forward gaze, which yet has leaned on the past, in selecting her name, and in placing in her business center the Totem Pole, the symbol of heritage, those of us who have traveled some of the old Tote roads know that here we shall be helped to put our feet on new roads of advance and that we shall move forward as we have moved in the past, bound member to member by the dominant mood of this great national body, in the mood of charity.

The Chairman: Our fifty-six agencies as members of the Central Council of Social Agencies, wish to express to Mrs. Glenn their appreciation of the kind words which we knew she would say out of her kind heart So fifty-six roses have been brought from our home gardens representing the affection of these agencies, and the Chair has asked Mrs. Fred W. Bert, Jr., Chairman of the Reception Committee, to present these roses to Mrs. Glenn.

In presenting the roses to Mrs. Glenn, Mrs. Bert said: Mrs. Glenn, I present these roses to you on behalf of the Reception Committee, with the hope that you will enjoy your stay in beautiful Seattle.

The Chairman: I have very great pleasure now in turning the gavel over to your President, Mr. Frank Tucker.

Mr. Tucker here delivered the President's Annual Address (Page 1), after which a telegram was read from Governor Lister, as follows:

"Kindly express my regret not being able to be present to open National Conference of Charities and Correction. Missing train would not place me in Seattle in time. Ernest Lister."

After sundry announcements the meeting adjourned to attend a reception in the banquet hall of Plymouth Church.

Sunday, July 6th, 3 P. M.

Meeting held in Moore's Theatre.

The Conference Sermon was preached by the Rev. A. J. McKelway, D. D., of Atlanta, Georgia. (Page 14.)

The invocation was made by Rabbi Samuel Koch, of Seattle.

A mixed chorus of three hundred voices rendered a selection from Gounod's "Redemption."

A solo, "O Love Divine that Stooped to Share," was rendered by Madame Hesse-Sprotte, of Seattle.

After the sermon the chorus sang the "Halleluiah Chorus" from Handel's Messiah.

The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. H. C. Mason, D. D.

Sunday Evening, July 6th.

This session was held in High School Hall. In the absence of Rev. Bro. Barnabas, the chairman of the committee, who was recalled to New York while on his way to Seattle, President Tucker introduced Mr. Henry W. Thurston, the vice chairman, who presided over the meeting.

The Chairman: It goes without saying that we are all very much disappointed at not having Bro. Barnabas with us. First we will listen to a paper on vocational training in institutions, by Mr. F. J. Sessions, Superintendent of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home in Davenport, Iowa. (For paper, see page 287.)

The Chairman: The next speaker has been a pioneer in the work for children in Chicago. She has helped establish medical examination of children in the grades. She will lead the discussion on the paper which has just been presented—Dr. Mary O'Brien Porter, of Chicago. (Page 293.)

The Chairman: There are not only tides in the affairs of men, but there are rhythms in the responsibilities of nations. We are now at the high tide and rhythm of responsibility with reference to the feeble-minded.

Alexander Johnson then made an address on "The State's Program for the Feeble-Minded in New Jersey."

After announcements the meeting adjourned.

Monday Evening, July 7th.

This session was held in the auditorium of Plymouth Church. The invocation was made by Rev. F. J. Van Horn, D. D.

President Tucker, in introducing Dr. Taylor, the Chairman of the evening, said:

The President: To the people of Seattle and of the Pacific Coast probably no meeting of this conference holds such great interest as the one tonight. The distribution and assimilation of immigrants is the great problem which you of the Pacific Coast are facing; and it is the problem from which the majority of your social problems of the near future will flow. The immensity of this subject, its various phases, its manifold ramifications, the technical complexities which are involved in it, make it one of tremendous difficulty for the committee which is charged with the presentation of the subject. The man at the head of this committee has performed a monumental service both for the conference and for you. I think few of you have any appreciation of the difficulties that were involved in the formation of this program. The man who consented to head this committee made many sacrifices to prepare this program, to get the speakers, and to be here himself. It is hardly necessary to introduce to the people of Seattle and of the Pacific Slope this man, who has chosen to live in a quarter of Chicago which has presented all the problems which you will soon be called upon to face. Graham Taylor, civic worker, social worker, lecturer, teacher, preacher, is here to preside tonight; Graham Taylor, head of the School of Civics and Philanthropy and Warden of the Chicago Commons.

Dr. Taylor here assumed the chair and read the report of the Committee on Distribution and Assimilation of Immigrants. (Page 26.)

The Chairman: I have great pleasure in presenting my colleague on this committee, Mr. Chas. W. Blanpied, who will speak of things that may be of interest to you on the coast. He has just completed a tour from San Diego to Vancouver. We also have a large number of fine slides which will be shown at the section meeting Wednesday morning.

Mr. Blanpied read a paper entitled "Special Survey of Coast Conditions relative to Immigration." (Page 42.)

The Chairman: I have great pleasure now in introducing the Rev.

John W. Beard, of Hoquiam, this state, who will speak on "The Need of the Immigrant in the Woods. (Page 36.)

The Chairman: If you make men good they will make their surroundings better; but if you make their surroundings better it helps to make men good. You have to start at both ends and meet in the middle.

After sundry announcements by the secretary the meeting adjourned.

Tuesday Morning, July 8th.

This session was held in the Grand Opera House.

President Tucker, in introducing the chairman, said: It is most interesting that we are developing the type of young man who appeals so strongly to the business man because he is always ready to produce facts concerning actual conditions. The chairman of this committee, to whom I will turn over all future meetings of this section, is a young man of that type. I am proud to say that this conference has a large number of young men who are going to make their impress upon the business world because they have something to deliver that the business man wants, and that is, a sense of social responsibility. I have great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, of St. Louis, chairman of this committee.

Mr. Baldwin here assumed the chair and read his report on the Relation of Commercial Organizations to Social Welfare. (Page 73.)

The Chairman: Probably the most conspicuous development in the field of urban progress has been made for the longest time by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce; it is the recognized leader in the democratic spirit of business in our cities. We have with us today one of the directors of that Chamber. He represents that type of business man who sees the new possibility of the relations of business to the whole social program. I take great pleasure in introducing to this national conference Mr. E. M. Williams, of Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Williams read a paper entitled "A Chamber of Commerce Militant." (Page 84.)

The Chairman: The next paper deals with the organization and development of country life conditions which make up the rural problem. Mr. John Howard, Jr., is active in that work and he knows at first hand what those conditions are. I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. Howard to this conference.

Mr. Howard read a paper entitled "The Relation of Commercial Organizations to Neighboring Rural Communities." (Page 92.)

The Chairman: The new commercialism knows no sectional lines. We have found that the Pacific Coast offers, if anything, a more inspiring picture of development than the rest of the country. The California Development Board is an organization for the development of rural lands. Miss Grace Trumbull will tell us of that work in California.

Miss Trumbull read a paper entitled "The Role of Commercial Organizations in Social Welfare on the Pacific Coast." (Page 95.)

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

Tuesday Evening, July 8th.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. M. A. Matthews, D. D., after which **President Tucker,** in introducing the chairman of the evening, said: One of our most important committees is now ready to report its findings to the conference. But before that report is made I will ask Mr. O'Connor, Chairman of the Committee on Time and Place, to advise the conference of the conclusions of that committee.

Mr. J. J. O'Connor read the following:

Report of Committee on Time and Place

of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Fortieth Conference at Seattle, Wash., July 7, 1913.

The Committee on Time and Place for the Forty-first Conference respectfully presents its report as follows:

Invitations to the conference have been received from Memphis, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Chicago, Atlantic City, Denver, St. Louis, New York City, Great Falls, Mont., and Des Moines, Iowa.

After full consideration the committee recommends that the forty-first conference be held in Memphis, Tennessee, and the time be left to the discretion of the Executive Committee, with the recommendation that it be fixed between May first and May fifteenth, 1914.

John J. O'Connor, Chairman,
W. A. Gates,
Mary A. Spink,
Mary Wilcox Glenn,
Mary L. Birtwell,
Lewis Meriam,
Geo. B. Robinson,
Thomas J. Riley,
Henry W. Thurston.

On motion, seconded and carried, the report of the committee was adopted.

The President: It is often said that New York City lives on good red blood furnished it by the rest of the nation. If this be true then the large drop of the vital fluid that came to us when Seattle sent us John A. Kingsbury, has played a considerable part in the life of our city in the few years that he has been there. He came to round out an education begun here. He stayed because we had much more need of him than you have. After a few years' tutelage under that prince of social workers —Homer Folks,—he was offered the executive position in one of the largest, most powerful and most effective organizations in our city, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. No greater pleasure has ever come to me than that of introducing again to the people of his home city John A. Kingsbury, chairman of tonight's meeting—my successor and my friend.

Mr. Kingsbury here assumed the chair and introduced the papers and discussions of the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods in a few appropriate remarks.

The Chairman: I have pleasure in introducing Mr. Francis H. McLean, General Secretary of the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity.

Mr. McLean read a paper entitled "Working Programs in Variously Sized Cities." (Page 332.)

Mr. J. J. O'Connor read a paper entitled "Working Programs in Central Council Cities." (Page 340.)

The Chairman: Nothing in late years has created more interest and attracted more attention than some of the great social surveys that have been made in various American cities, particularly Pittsburgh. I am sure you will be interested in the next paper by Mr. Shelby M. Harrison, on the development of social surveys.

Mr. Harrison read a paper entitled "The Development of Social Surveys." (Page 345.)

The meeting adjourned.

Wednesday Morning, July 9th.

This meeting was held in the auditorium of Plymouth Church.

President Tucker, in introducing Dr. Livingston Farrand the chairman said: About eight years ago the social workers realized that one of the great causes of dependency was not being considered by the medical profession and those interested in economic relief as it should be. The result was the formation of one of our great national committees, that for the study and prevention of tuberculosis. When it was decided to form that committee, those interested came face to face with the problem of selecting an executive. It was decided that that executive must be a man of scientific knowledge; that he must be an executive, a speaker, a diplomat; that he must be able to influence the legislature and legislators, able to arouse the interest of communities. The choice of this committee has resulted in a widespread national interest in the whole subject of tuberculosis, and has been amply justified. The committee selected a scientific man, an executive, a speaker, a diplomat,—Livingston Farrand.

Dr. Farrand here assumed the chair and read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Health and Productive Power. (Page 159.)

The Chairman: In looking over the field and considering those subjects which presented themselves as possibilities for treatment on this occasion, it seemed to me that most important, in view of such conditions as I have been speaking of, was the co-ordination and co-operation of the different agencies, particularly the co-ordination and co-operation between private and official health agencies. That was decided upon as the opening topic. Now only here and there, there appears above the general level of health administration a figure that attracts attention outside of the limits of its own jurisdiction. For some years those of us interested in this subject have been watching with close attention and always with advantage the work that has been done in this city. There is a commissioner here, and we are fortunate in having him with us to discuss this problem of co-ordination from the official point of view. I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. John C. Crichton, Health officer of Seattle.

Dr. Crichton read a paper entitled "Co-ordination of Official and Private Activity in Public Health Work." (Page 165.)

The Chairman: I take great pleasure in introducing as the next speaker J. A. Kingsbury, formerly of Seattle, but now of New York.

Mr. Kingsbury read a paper on the co-ordination of private and public agencies. (Page 169.)

The Chairman: I wish time permitted having a discussion at this juncture. We who have been concerned with public health realize that the absolute basis of intelligent work is accurate knowledge with regard to the facts of disease and death. Our registration area is too restricted; but every effort is being made to extend it. The factors we want to know most are the factors of birth and death. Special efforts are being made by the newly organized Children's Bureau in Washington, and we have a representative of that Bureau with us—Mr. Lewis Meriam, who has studied this general subject. He will speak to us upon auditing the birth account.

Mr. Meriam read a paper entitled "Auditing the Birth Account." (Page 173.)

The Chairman: I will ask Dr. C. F. Davidson, of Seattle, to take a few minutes to discuss this paper of Dr. Meriam's. (Page 180.)

Meeting adjourned.

Wednesday Evening, July 9th

This meeting was held in the auditorium of Plymouth Church. The invocation was made by Rev. A. W. Leonard, D. D. In opening the meeting, President Tucker said:

The President: At a previous session I said that the conference was particularly proud of its young men; and I mean to include young women too. This group who are growing up to succeed us are already making their mark and their impression upon the communities which they serve. I have great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. W. T. Cross, Secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Missouri.

Mr. Cross here assumed the chair and read his report as Chairman of the committee on Public Supervision and Administration. (Page 183.)

The Chairman: The next speaker I am pleased to introduce as one of the best authorities on public charities and correction in the Northwest, Dr. Anna Y. Reed. A special investigator under appointment of the governor of this state, Dr. Reed has made a complete visitation of state institutions in this state. Her conclusions and criticisms have been published. Not every citizen of Seattle or Washington has the opportunity, and certainly not every one has the ability to study these public institutions as has Mrs. Reed. Yet we must remember that our public institutions are the property of every individual citizen in the state. Mrs. Reed has been eyes for you. She will now tell you what she has seen.

Dr. Anna Y. Reed read a paper entitled "Public Charities and Correction in Washington." (Page 194.)

The Chairman: The next speaker on our program I introduce with unusual pleasure as a former president of the State Board of Control; indeed as the author of the excellent instrument creating the board which has been praised by the last speaker. I introduce him to the members of the conference as a practical authority in the field of charities and correction. As Governor of the state of Washington I am sure he needs no introduction to this audience and to this conference, and surely not to the citizens of Seattle. I have the great honor, ladies and gentlemen, to present to you his Excellency, Governor Lister of your own state.

Governor Lister delivered an address. (Page 205.)

The Chairman: We see the advantage of having a social worker in the Governor's chair. I feel it is a great privilege and a compliment to this conference to be able to listen to so enthusiastic an address along these lines.

On motion duly seconded and carried, a rising vote of thanks was tendered Governor Lister for his splendid address.

Discussion.

The discussion related to minimum wage legislation and to the functions and value of the public institutions of charity and correction. It was participated in by Mrs. Allen and Miss Adella Parker, of Seattle, H. H. Nalder, of the State Reformatory at Monroe, Wash; C. C. Aspenwall, Supt. State Training School, Chehalis, Wash.; R. H. King, of Seattle.

The Chairman: In closing this very interesting program I must say I have never seen a more intelligent discussion of local problems than the one this evening. I now turn the conference over to the President.

The President: The Governor and I have been reminiscing. I was at that Topeka Conference and we have been recalling the red-hot discussions that took place there regarding state boards of charities versus state boards of control. We highly appreciate the Governor's coming here. It is delightful to know that a man who is interested in the social work of

the state has become its chief executive. It shows that the people are beginning to set higher standards by which to judge the efficiency and eligibility of those whom they propose to put in charge of their common needs and their common property.

Meeting adjourned.

Thursday Evening, July 10th.

This meeting was held in the auditorium of Plymouth Church. Rev. Carter Helm Jones made the invocation. The President announced that the Committee on Nominations was ready to report and called upon Mr. George S. Wilson, Chairman, to present the report, which was accordingly done. (See page 415.)

After the names of the executive officers including the assistant secretaries, the President said:

The President: There are other nominations, for membership on the Executive Committee; but the chairman calls my attention to the fact that it is necessary to act upon this partial report before proceeding to elect the members of the Executive Committee, for the reason that if the conference accepts this report it will create a vacancy by reason of the election of Prof. Taylor to the presidency. You have heard this partial report of the Committee on Nominations. What is your pleasure.

Motion made that the report be adopted, which motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

Mr. Wilson, the chairman, then proceeded to read the remainder of the committee's report. Whereupon a motion to adopt said report, duly seconded, was unanimously carried.

The President: The report of the Committee on Nominations is unanimously adopted. The discussion this evening concerns itself with prisons, probation and parole. The original chairman of this section, Col. C. B. Adams, of Illinois, was unfortunately detained at home by reason of his official business. It is characteristic of this conference that there are always men and women ready and prepared to step in in any emergency. The duty of presiding over the sessions of this committee fell upon the vice chairman, a man who for thirty-four years has been one of the managers and for fourteen years president of the Board of the Catholic Protectory of New York, an institution which has two thousand or more boys and young men and about five hundred girls and young women under its care. I take great pleasure in presenting to you tonight Mr. George B. Robinson, who for fifteen years has been a fellow worker with me in the City of New York.

Mr. Robinson here assumed the Chair.

The Chairman: For the reasons stated by the President there will be no report of this committee on this occasion. Fortunately we have a good program, and good speakers who will convey to you timely information. We regret that Governor West, of Oregon, was not able to be present and read the paper for which he is down on the program. He has sent a substitute in Mrs. Trumbull, and I am sure she has the information which Governor West would give you were he here. I take great pleasure in introducing Mrs. Millie Trumbull, of Oregon.

Mrs. Trumbull read a paper entitled "The Honor System of Prison Labor." (Page 116.)

The Chairman: While we regret that Governor West was not able to come to the conference, yet we are certainly grateful to him that he has sent Mrs. Trumbull as his representative to present such an interesting paper on the affairs in Oregon. The next speaker is a gentleman who has been connected for many years with this conference and who has often taken part in its discussions and presented papers. He has had a wonderful experience in the conduct of reformatories and prisons, but is now Com-

missioner of Charities of New Jersey. I take great pleasure in presenting Mr. Joseph P. Byers, of Trenton, N. J.

Mr. Byers read a paper entitled "The Prison of the Twentieth Century." (Page 129.)

The Chairman: The next paper is on adult probation and parole in New York City. It will be presented by a gentleman who has been a member of the Probation Commission of the state of New York for a number of years, and who is now a member of the Prison Commission. I have great pleasure in introducing to you the Honorable Frank E. Wade, of Buffalo.

Mr. Wade read a paper entitled "Adult Probation and Parole in New York State." (Page 120.)

The Chairman: The papers which you have heard constitute the program of the committee as originally planned. But it was considered wise to have a representative of the Jail Reform Society of Seattle speak for that society—Mr. Charles M. Baxter will now do so.

Mr. Baxter read a paper entitled "Jail Reform in the State of Washington."

The Chairman:—Mr. John J. Sonsteby of Chicago, will open the discussion. (Page 136.)

After sundry announcements by the secretary the meeting adjourned.

Friday Evening, July 11th.

This meeting was held in the auditorium of Plymouth Church. The invocation was made by Rev. W. A. Major, D. D., after the Committee on Organization made its report through its chairman, Mr. John A. Kingsbury, (Page 415). On motion made and seconded the report was unanimously adopted.

Mr. John A. Kingsbury: We would say in connection with the Committee on the Family and the Community that we recommend that at least one section of this committee's program be devoted to the relation of commercial organizations to social welfare. Regarding the Committee on Neighborhood Development—the demand upon this committee during the last day or two when its sessions created more and more interest, became so great that although we had completed our report, at the earnest solicitation and the strong recommendation of the incoming President of the Conference, the chairman having been vested with power by the committee, this committee was added. For obvious reasons it is not complete, but the chairman has power to complete it by adding representatives from the Southern states.

The President: Before I turn the meeting over to the chairman of the evening I will ask for a personal privilege and say a word about one of the best known and most faithful members of the conference. Some of us were shocked when we arrived here and heard of the serious illness of one whom we all expected to meet here; one who has for many years been a faithful and efficient worker in this conference—Mr. Frederic Almy of Buffalo, head of the Charity Organization Society of that city. I would like to ask if some of his fellow members would move that the secretary be directed to send a telegram to Mr. Almy expressing to him our sympathy in his affliction.

Mr. Kingsbury moved that the conference secretary be authorized and directed to send a telegram to Mr. Almy expressing our sympathy with him in his illness.

Seconded by Dr. Graham Taylor and unanimously carried. The telegram was sent by the secretary.

The President: The meeting this evening is of the new section—The Church and Social Work. The chairman who will preside at this meet-

ing is Mr. J. M. Glenn, who requires no introduction to this conference, nor to any member of it.

Mr. Glenn here assumed the chair and said: In reading my report I want it understood that whatever I may say is in no sense a criticism of the Church. We are here to point out ways to those who are seeking light. What we say may sometimes sound like criticism, but that is not the intention. Personally I feel very optimistic about the Church and social work. One of the evidences of progress in this line is the large number of ministers who have attended the sessions of this conference. In fact I have never known anything like it before.

Mr. Glenn read the Report of the Committee on the Church and Social Work. (Page 138.)

Mr. Alexander Johnson gave an address entitled "The Church's Social Work from a Layman's Point of View." (Page 146.)

Mr. J. W. Magruder spoke upon "The Church and the Community." (Page 151.)

The Chairman: I don't think I ever heard better or more practical answers to the question that is so often asked by ministers—what ought the Church to do of social service?

Rev. Henry A. Atkinson spoke on the Church and social work. (Page 154.)

Rev. John A. Ryan gave an address upon the Church and social work. (Page 156.)

The Chairman: I wish to express my very deep appreciation first to the speakers who have made this such an interesting meeting, and to the audience for their inspiring attention.

Meeting adjourned.

Saturday Evening, July 12th.

The closing meeting of the conference was held in the auditorium of Plymouth Church. Rev. Dr. Strong made the invocation. The President, in introducing the chairman of the evening, said:

The President: The discussion this evening concerns that most fundamental of all our problems—the standards of living and wages. The chairman of this committee has contributed much to clear the subject of its complexities. He is Father Ryan of St. Paul, priest, author, economist.

Father Ryan assumed the chair and said: I regret that I cannot say of this report of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor what Mr. Cross said of the report which he read, namely that a great majority of the members of the committee had seen the report and approved it. As far as I know none of the members of this committee have seen my report and if it presents their views in any degree it is only in so far as it may contain suggestions, or reflections of some suggestions which they made to me when I asked for their expression of opinion before writing the report.

Father Ryan here read his Report as Chairman of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor. (Page 222.)

The Chairman: Something less than four years ago the National Consumers' League resolved to take as its one particular line of work for ten years the agitation for the establishment of a minimum wage by legislation. I don't think that the very efficient secretary of that organization, who had more than any other person to do with the practical organization of the movement for a minimum wage, dreamed for a moment then that within four years she would be called upon to discuss—not how may we get the minimum wage established, by law, some way or some day, but the present status of minimum wage legislation. Mrs. Florence Kelley, of New York.

Mrs. Kelley addressed the conference upon "The Present Status of Minimum Wage Legislation." (Page 229.)

The Chairman: The burden of most of the objections urged last year to minimum wage legislation had reference to what was going to happen to the poor working people themselves as the result of laws of this kind. The next speaker will discuss that subject:—"The Problem of the Person Who Is Unable to Earn the Minimum Wage." I have great pleasure in introducing Professor Arthur E. Wood, of Reed College, Portland.

Professor Wood read a paper entitled "The Problem of the Worker who is unable to earn the Minimum Wage." (Page 234.)

The Chairman: Dr. A. J. McKelway, of Atlanta, Georgia, will now address you on the minimum wage and child labor.

Dr. McKelway spoke upon "The Minimum Wage and Child Labor." (Page 246.)

President Tucker here resumed the chair.

The President: We have come to the closing exercises. The Secretary will read an announcement.

Mr. Alexander Johnson: I have a report from the Executive Committee with regard to the change of the rules of procedure. They can only be changed by the action of the Conference, and there must be a report by the Executive Committee on the change proposed. This is the report: "The Executive Committee respectfully suggests the following resolution:

Resolved, That the following addition be made to the rules of procedure: "The term of office of the incoming officers for each year shall commence thirty days after the close of the previous conference."

For the Executive Committee.
Alexander Johnson, Secretary.

I respectfully offer this resolution and ask for immediate action upon it.

The adoption of said resolution was moved, seconded and carried.

The President: The Committee on Resolutions is ready to report,—J. W. Magruder, chairman.

Mr. Magruder read the Report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

The Committee on Resolutions of the National Conference of Charities and Correction begs leave to submit for adoption the following expressions of our appreciation to the citizens of Seattle and of the Pacific Northwest:

Seldom, if ever, has the National Conference enjoyed such universal hospitality or such ample provision for its every convenience and comfort in the midst of its deliberations and work.

We came to the West Coast in response to what we were given to understand to be a felt need on the part of these, our fellow citizens, for just such help as the National Conference could bring preparatory to the impending tide of immigration and of social revolution incident to the opening of the Panama Canal; and in this respect we hope that our coming will not have been in vain.

From the moment of our arrival, until this closing hour, we have had the feeling that instead of being among the people as those who would serve, we are guests of friends and neighbors, all seeking to minister rather than to be ministered unto.

Nor have we found that the seemingly extravagant representations of Mr. Richard Hayter as the spokesman in behalf of the people of Seattle and vicinity at the last National Conference at Cleveland, or of the various civic, commercial and social organizations whose formal invitations to the Conference he there submitted were one whit exaggerated. In fact, to those of us who had never been west of the Rockies, the half had not been told. Such a wealth of life, enterprise and achievement flowed about us, such indescribable beauty on salt water and inland lake, along streets and boulevards and through parks stretching away to the snow-capped ranges of the Cascades and the Olympics, with the matchless over-towering Rainier in the distance, that our strength and purpose has been taxed to the limit to keep us within four walls and to the work

which had been committed to us to do. No wonder that one of our leaders at a great evening meeting expressed surprise that so many people could be induced to assemble within doors, even for the discussion of questions vital to the common welfare. Nor are we surprised to hear it rumored that some of our delegates are about to return to their homes only to pack up their earthly possessions and take the first train back to Seattle.

Our first impulse was to thank by name each and all of the individuals and organizations, "56 varieties," enumerated by President Sydney Strong of the Central Council of Social Agencies, as having contributed generously to the entertainment of the Conference. He assures us, however, that even that lengthy list was not exhaustive; and we are advised by the General Secretary of the Conference that to mention everybody who has had a hand in the hospitalities of the week would mean the publication of the city directory. In other words, our very entertainment as a Conference has come from the people as a whole, and is quite in keeping with that democracy which is an essential characteristic of the modern social movement.

We have missed those members of the Conference who, because of distance and time, have been unable to be present. But one of the striking and inspiring features of this session has been the extraordinary number of new men and women of the new social spirit, from the West as well as the East, who have come to the front as splendid recruits and made themselves felt, not only by their presence, but by their intelligent and effective participation in the discussions and debates.

This, together with the unprecedented outpouring of people at the general sessions and at the section meetings, is the best evidence of a social awakening on this West Coast, which promises in addition to material prosperity, an economical and social, a moral and spiritual well-being for the millions of people soon to come.

Too much can scarcely be said in grateful acknowledgment of the services of the press. Never has so much of space been given by the newspapers to the proceedings of the Conference; nor have the reports ever been more intelligently and forcefully handled. If the example as set by the Seattle press is followed, it means that the rank and file of the people will come the more speedily into the knowledge of these things which so nearly concern their social, and even spiritual salvation.

Those of our members who have ever had the responsibility of entertaining the Conference in other cities, know how there are always some special tasks which fall upon willing souls; and we suspect we shall not be amiss if we mention particularly the important part taken by the Rotary club and the Chamber of Commerce in the fore-Conference preparations.

We are in full accord, too, with the appreciation as expressed by the General Secretary, of the services of Miss Virginia McMechen, Chairman of the Membership Committee; of Miss M. I. Beals, Chairman of the Committee on Registration; and of Mrs. Fred W. Bert, Jr., Chairman of the Committee on Excursions and Receptions.

The automobile tour of the boulevards and parks and the excursion around Lake Washington; the series of receptions, noon-day luncheons and other gatherings were not only a pleasure and profit, but abounded in new and ofttimes novel experiences.

Nothing that could contribute to our happiness or to the success of the Conference has been omitted. To all of the officers and local committees, to the friends who beautified our places of assembly with flowers and enriched our general sessions and the Sunday afternoon conference with music and song; to the clubs, the commercial organizations, the churches and many other organizations, to His Honor, the Mayor, as the representative of the city; to His Excellency, the Governor, as the representative of the Commonwealth; to one and all, we offer our heartfelt thanks. And we trust that in the succeeding years, the several cities which we, as delegates represent, may be able in turn to approximate, if we do not equal, the hospitality of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest when their delegates come as representatives to the National Conference of Charities and Correction to our own cities.

J. W. MAGRUDER, Chairman,
OTTO W. DAVIS,
MISS JESSICA PEIXOTTO,
Committee on Resolutions.

On motion duly seconded the report was adopted.

Mr. Magruder: Here is another memorandum or resolution which speaks for itself.

Mr. Magruder then read the following supplementary report of the Committee on Resolutions:

This fortieth session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in session at Seattle, Washington, is an event in its history as an organization, at once a source of regret and a cause of rejoicing; Alexander Johnson, for nine years General Secretary of the Conference, resigns his position in order to take up work as director of the newly-established Extension Department of the Training School for the feeble-minded at Vineland, New Jersey.

During his term of office, the Conference has grown and expanded to such proportions that to many of us, if not, indeed, to the great majority, the National Conference has come almost to mean Alexander Johnson.

Personally congenial and delightfully companionable, always youthful as any of us in spirit and enthusiasm and capacity for work, thrice welcome anywhere and everywhere as an expert adviser and as a teacher and lecturer on social questions, we could easily feel ourselves personally bereft but for the fact that we are losing him only to gain him.

His long years of study and varied experience as a general secretary in charity organization work, as superintendent of the Indiana State School for the Feeble-Minded, as secretary of the Indiana Board of State Charities, fit him pre-eminently for the educational propaganda in connection with the great work of the school at Vineland. It is difficult to overestimate the possibilities for service involved in this new relationship. It means not only a new awakening of the people to the facts of feeble-mindedness, to the methods of caring for the victims, to the cause of the evil and the possible prevention of it, not only a fresh impetus to the eugenic movement and to kindred movements; but it means no less important contributions to our whole educational ideal and method.

Mr. Johnson's retirement from office at this closing session of the National Conference is not a valedictory, but a commencement. We congratulate him on the new opening wherein to turn to full account his long years of experience and ripened powers, and carry to a culmination the work of a lifetime as a crowning achievement. We bid him god-speed and assure him the cordial welcome whenever he comes to our cities and our homes.

J. W. MAGRUDER, Chairman
OTTO W. DAVIS,
MISS JESSICA PEIXOTTO,
Committee on Resolutions.

The President: Action on this report of the committee will be by rising vote. Will some one move its adoption?

Dr. McKelway moved the adoption of this supplementary report and Dr. Graham Taylor seconded it; whereupon the motion to adopt said report was unanimously carried by a rising vote.

The President: The vote is unanimous. It is the privilege of the retiring president to say a few words at this juncture. I will exercise that privilege, although nearly everything I intended to say has been borrowed by the Committee on Resolutions. The representative of one of the daily local papers asked me this morning if I would characterize this conference. I answered that it seemed to me that the Seattle Conference would go down into history as the perfect conference and he asked me why. I said, first, because all the arrangements by the local committee for the housing and conduct of the business of the conference were perfect. Second, because the participation of the people of the Pacific Coast in the program was splendid. Go over the list of speakers and those who discussed the papers, and I think you will be surprised at the splendid representation that the Pacific Coast has given. Third, because of these wonderful audiences from the opening session till the close and of their enthusiastic interest. I wonder if you realize that the attendances at these meetings has figured up to between twenty-five and thirty thousand. Lastly, because of the splendid publicity, the educational publicity that has been given by your papers. Too often the proceedings of the conference have been reported in a sensational manner. Too often isolated statements of over-emphatic members have been the keynote of the spread-heads. When you think that one paper of this city has day after day given eighteen to twenty columns of space I think you will realize that the publicity has been truly of an educational character. And now I come to my last official act and that is to turn over the insignia of authority, the official gavel of the

conference, to my successor. No worthier choice could have been made. For years Professor Graham Taylor has been a national figure as teacher, lecturer, preacher, writer, publicist. In the truest sense he has taken active part in the vital movements of the nation. The National Conference of Charities and Correction under his guidance will move on to further heights in its constructive program for the realization of social justice. Professor Taylor, I hand over the gavel of the conference to you.

In accepting the gavel from the retiring President, the incoming President said:

President Taylor: I shall speak with becoming diffidence because the Executive Committee have just passed a regulation to the effect that the incoming officers were really not to do anything for thirty days. So I shall address you, sir, as Mr. President.

The coming and going of men seems to be more incidental and irrelevant nowadays than it used to be. One can't help being in a reminiscent frame of mind at such an adjournment. Those of you who have shared with me the many years of attendance upon this conference will appreciate what I say when I call the roll of Mr. Letchworth, of New York, of Robert Treat Paine, of Massachusetts; of Roeliff Brinkerhoff, of Ohio; of Josephine Shaw Lowell, of New York. They seem almost colonial in their stateliness, and, somehow, separated more or less from the rank and file. They were real leaders, and with them a generation really passed away, but not the work of that generation. For they laid deep and strong foundations upon which superstructures have ever since been rising. They were succeeded—those prophets of a remedial dispensation, by the group of those who emphasize prevention and re-construction. They belong partly to the past and partly to the present. I don't think that any of these comparisons are invidious in the National Conference of Charities and Correction; for when we compare one group with another, this other group seems to have absorbed the wisdom from the one that preceded it, and will pass on what they have thus attained. I think that Robert DeForest really impersonates this second group of those who emphasize prevention and re-construction, especially by legislation. Who will ever forget his address on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the New York Charity Organization Society in that great Carnegie Hall meeting, when he said that while twenty-five years before, poverty had been considered by everybody almost as a fixed status in which some people found themselves, in which others expected always to be, now we have learned that poverty is an eradicable disease. He said further that the eradication of poverty must be by legislation and reform; and that but for the new tenement house laws of New York (for which he was more responsible than any one else) a million of our fellow citizens would be living in rooms whose only light and air came through other apartments. I know of no more impressive memorial to any living man than the tenement house reform of New York City is to Robert De Forest.

Now we have come to another group of the rank and file who have arisen almost silently. Their voices have not been heard in the streets. This formative group, the younger men and women, believe in a constructive procedure that will make the world over. We remember when their voices sounded very lonely; when it was regarded as an intrusion to emphasize industrial matters in this conference. But our lines have fallen in better directions. It seems as though this conference somewhat marked the transition, the gathering up from the past, all that was best in that earliest period; gathering up still further from the preventive and reconstructive measures of this middle period of our development, and turning now to the constructive, formative ideals which we are trying to realize.

I am not sure that it was an unfortunate thing that this conference was held so far away from where those whom we have been accustomed to

follow so implicitly have lived. There have been fewer recognized leaders in this conference at this session than any I can remember. But I have never seen a finer evidence of the leadership of the rank and file of young men and women in whose hands and with whose hearts this conference can safely be left. It is going to be more and more a leaderless movement as the level rises, and as the ground swells and tidal movements of American life shall manifest themselves. Here we have a real democracy.

It becomes those who are putting on the armor to say less than those who are putting it off; but I do wish to express my great appreciation and gratitude to President Tucker for having done one thing to which no allusion has been made. I think under his leadership the business basis of this conference has been re-constructed. Silently, quietly and without announcement it has been put upon a more solvent and self-respecting basis than we have ever had. I am sure the new administration will be relieved of much of the worry and incertitude that others have experienced, because by this Executive Committee and under the leadership of President Tucker a budget has been framed which will be strictly followed by the newly elected officers.

In the direction of further progress there are two great lines of policy to be pursued. We have a past of which we can be proud. One line is to conserve that past and the other is with broad comprehensiveness to gather in more and more of those who should meet with us and exchange values. Correlation of the lines of progress in different sections of the country, and of the various views of public and private agencies, of religious and secular organizations is one of the great functions of this Conference. This is a great ecumenical council where all interests can come. All can add their force and make contribution to the trend of human progress.

One thing this new administration will miss will be the genial presence, varied ability, and everlasting good humor and friendship, and the rare efficiency of Alexander Johnson. But we don't mean to give him up. He is going to belong to the whole country more than he has ever before, and to all the sections of this conference. There is not a section in any one of these conferences to which he cannot add something intelligently, and with rare interest. His public service covers now almost an entire generation—and yet he is as young as the rest of us. We welcome tonight his successor, university-trained and yet not academical, with academic standards and yet of practical experience won in the service of his own state which graduated him from its university and placed him in the position of Secretary of its State Board of Charities and Corrections. That board he has taken out of politics and. he has made a social or charitable survey of the great State of Missouri. He has, with others, also greatly enlarged the State Conference, enabled it to cover the state and so to increase greatly its efficiency. And by maintaining a popular propaganda of an educational sort he has unconsciously prepared himself for this position. Far from a mere clerical position is this secretaryship. It is advisory. It is a position of leadership to which we welcome a man thoroughly worthy of it.

Mr. Tucker, the new administration thanks you most heartily for the kind of submarine work you have been doing during the past year. It is a work we could not have done so well as you. And Mr. Johnson, we are not going to let go of you. You have to help us out. We are green-horns compared to you, and immigrants just arrived from abroad; and you are an aboriginee while Mr. Cross is our latest raw recruit.

Friends—old and new—I extend to you the right hand of good fellowship. And Mr. Cross—present yourself.

Mr. W. T. Cross: Mr. President, Mr. Ex-President, Mr. Secretary, I feel I owe allegience to the old crowd as well as to the new. From the fact that most of the speakers down in front here have had a chance at this audience I suspect I am almost the tail of the kite and I will try

not to make the end very long. The President seems to be very proud of his position; but I am certain he is not half so proud and happy over the new duties he has assumed as I am of the honor which you have conferred upon me. I hope you will not take too seriously what the President said about me and the State of Missouri, although I consider it the highest compliment I can pay in return for your confidence to give up the work with which I have grown up in my state, that of the State Board of Charities and Corrections. I suspect it is too early for me to speak of future conferences; yet I wish to say I am not unaware of the large problems, as well as the very glowing prospects, that are before the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

I wish I had time to say all I would like to, of appreciation of the man whom I am following in the general secretaryship, appreciation not alone of his wonderful executive ability in guiding this conference, but of the personal value I have got from my acquaintance with him, dating from the first State Conference of Charities I attended in my own state.

I want to bespeak the best support possible from the men and women who come from year to year to this conference. I don't know how I can find a figure with which to end this rambling speech of mine; certainly I cannot find such a fine one as Mrs. Glenn did about the great mountain. The only one I can think of is an anti-climax, but that may be befitting the occasion. When we came down from the northern mountains, in spite of the delights of Seattle, coming down from such heights we felt a little stupid. I have no doubt to Seattle people we looked stupid, and some of us have not yet recovered from our stupidity. You must expect a similar let-down passing from Mr. Alexander Johnson to your humble servant, and get accustomed to a correspondingly lower atmosphere. The National Conference of Charities and Correction has made the greatest progress under his guidance. I thank the conference for what it has done for me, and will do my best to meet the obligations of my office.

After insistent calls for "Johnson, Johnson," Mr. Johnson responded: I am glad of the opportunity to thank you for your very great kindness to me, and to assure you that I shall keep on loving you just as much as ever, for many years to come. I hope we shall have many pleasant times together and keep on warming each other's hearts, and always going away from each other strengthened and refreshed for more and better work.

President Taylor: I do the only thing that is now left to do—adjourn.

Final Adjournment.

MINUTES OF SECTION MEETINGS

The various committees held section meetings at which papers were read, many of which were so timely and valuable that they are printed along with the papers and discussions of the general sessions.

COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN

Henry W. Thurston, Acting Chairman.

This committee conducted three section meetings and participated in a joint meeting with the National Probation Association. The meetings were as follows:

Monday, July 7: Papers by Dr. W. H. Slingerland, of New York City on "The Need of Child Welfare Work in Rural Communities," and by William T. Cross, of Missouri, on "Unity ir Child Helping Service," followed by a general discussion.

Wednesday, July 9: Western Coast Meeting. Papers by W. Almont Gates of San Francisco, "What California is doing for Children," Hon.

Everett Smith, of Seattle, "The Work of the Juvenile Court;" address by Hon. J. Stanley Webster, of Spokane, and paper by Dr. Anna Louise Strong, of Seattle, on "The Child Welfare Exhibit as a Means of Child Helping." A general discussion followed.

Thursday, July 10: An address on "New Jersey's Program for Feebleminded Children," by Alexander Johnson and paper by Lewis Meriam, of Washington, D. C., on "The Aims and Objects of the Federal Children's Bureau." Discussion followed led by H. P. Richardson, of Philadelphia, and continued by Mrs. Florence Kelley, W. Almont Gates, L. J. Covington and Mrs. E. R. Gilbert.

COMMITTEE ON DISTRIBUTION AND ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS

Graham Taylor, Chairman.

This committee conducted three section meetings.

Monday, July 7: Roundtable on co-operation between federal and state officials and voluntary agencies in the reception and distribution of immigrants. The discussion was led by Swan Sampson, of Tacoma, and Professor Joseph K. Hart, of Seattle.

Thursday, July 8: Roundtable discussion on the assimilation of immigrants, industrially, socially and educationally, through organized and personal effort. Discussion led by Graham Taylor and continued by Dr. Jessica Peixotto, Charles Perry Taylor, John A. Goodell, Orin C. Baker and others.

Thursday, July 10: An open discussion was held at which many people spoke on the subject of "The Restriction of Oriental Immigration." There were no pre-arranged speakers. The meeting had not been announced on the program but was called in answer to an urgent request. Mr. Chas. W. Blanpied showed stereopticon views of bad housing conditions among immigrants.

COMMITTEE ON FAMILIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

John A. Kingsbury, Chairman.

The committee conducted three section meetings.

Monday, July 7: An address on "Case Work Disciplines and Ideals," by Mrs. John M. Glenn, of New York. The discussion was led by Charles C. Stillman, of St. Paul, and continued by James F. Jackson, Miss Mary L. Birtwell, Miss Nettie A. Sawyer, J. J. O'Connor, Miss Alice Alling and others.

Thursday, July 10: An address on "The American Family and Its Problems," by John R. Howard, Jr., of Boston. Discussion led by W. Frank Persons, of New York, and continued by Miss Clanahan, of Des Moines, Miss Florence W. Hutsinpillar, John M. Glenn, Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy and others.

Friday, July 11: An address by Miss Margaret Byington, of New York, on "Leadership," and a paper on "Training" by Miss Harriet E. Anderson, of Louisville. The discussion was led by F. H. McLean, followed by Miss Adalina Buffington, Miss Ruth Arnold, Miss Virginia McMechen and others.

COMMITTEE ON RELATION OF COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS TO SOCIAL WELFARE

Roger N. Baldwin, Chairman

This committee held one section meeting, Francis H. McLean presiding.

Wednesday, July 9: Papers read by Henry W. Stewart, of Chicago, on

"Charities Endorsement in Retrospect and Prospect;" by L. A. Halbert, on "Developing Standards," and by E. M. Williams on "The Essentials of the Cleveland Experiment." A general discussion followed, the speakers being J. W. Magruder, J. M. Hanson, Mr. Brant, of Seattle, Thos. J. Riley, W. Frank Persons and others.

COMMITTEE ON PROBATION, PRISONS AND PAROLE

George B. Robinson, Acting Chairman.

This committee held one section meeting.

Wednesday, July 9: Roundtable meeting on probation of adults and juveniles. Discussion participated in by Judge George S. Adams, Frank E. Wade, W. M. V. Winans, Calvin C. Derrick, Mrs. Gordon Grant, Mr. Roe, of Utah, Miss Esther A. Johnson, Miss Maude E. Miner, F. Emory Lyon, Judge A. W. Frater, Judge Gatens, of Spokane, Mrs. Abbie E. Danforth, Mr. Sievers, of Nevada, Mr. King, of Washington, Mrs. Florence Kelley and others.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION

William T. Cross, Chairman.

This committee held two section meetings.

Thursday, July 10: Sub-section of committee report on "The Development of Municipal Charities and Corrections in the United States" given by Stanley H. Howe, of Philadelphia. Discussion led by E. M. Williams, of Cleveland, who described the Department of Welfare of that city under its new charter.

Friday, July 11: Paper, "Public Welfare Boards and Good City Government," by L. A. Halbert, of Kansas City, followed by discussion according to pre-arranged list of questions, led by Mayors George F. Cotterill, of Seattle, and W. J. Hindley, of Spokane. The following participated in discussion: L. J. Covington, W. A. Gates, E. M. Williams, Mr. Baxter, of Seattle, J. O. White, Miss Weed, of Berkeley, Aldermen Wardall and Griffiths of Seattle, Richard Hayter, Le Roy A. Halbert.

COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF LIVING AND LABOR

Rev. John A. Ryan, Chairman

This committee held three section meetings.

Thursday, July 10: Address by Professor Anton de Haas, of Leland Stanford University on "Unemployment Insurance" and by Professor Theresa S. McMahon on "Labor Exchanges and Labor Colonies." Discussion by Stuart Rice, Professor F. C. Young, A. H. Grout and others.

Friday, July 11: Roundtable on "Practical Operation of a Minimum Wage Law," led by Mrs. Florence Kelley and continued by E. V. O'Hara, Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull, Mrs. Frances King Hadlee, J. W. Magruder, Rev. McGill, Miss Parlier, Rev. J. D. Bird, Mr. Winans, of Spokane, Miss Mitchell, Miss Johnson, of Wisconsin, Mrs. Edson, of Los Angeles, Mr. Bener, of Washington, and others.

Saturday, July 12: Addresses by Professor Jas H. Gilbert, of the University of Oregon, on "Workmen's Compensation vs. Insurance for Accidents," by Professor Walter G. Beach of the University of Washington, on "Indemnity for Trade Diseases," and by Frederick L. Hoffman on "Workmen's Compensation for Industrial Diseases." The discussion was led by Hamilton Higday, Henry Newburgh and Dr. E. Kelley.

COMMITTEE ON THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK

John M. Glenn, Chairman

This committee held two section meetings.

Friday, July 11: Roundtable discussion on the church as a social factor. The following speakers took part: Graham Taylor, A. J. McKelway, Shelby M. Harrison, J. W. Magruder, Henry W. Thurston, Judge Wood, of Seattle, Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, Mayor W. J. Hindley, Mrs. Emma Ross Gilman, W. Withington, Mr. Davis, of Spokane, and many others.

Saturday, July 12: A roundtable on the respective functions of the minister and the layman in the social work of the church. Among those taking part were A. E. Kepford, James F. Jackson, Rev. Oscar H. McGill, Rev. A. J. Steelman, Rev. William Gulick, Rev. J. D. Bird, Rev. Richard Mansfield White, Rev. Sydney Strong, Rev. K. C. Mason, Jacob Maule, Mrs. Bremner, of New York, Mrs. Sears, of Seattle, Rev. E. G. Masters, Dr. Mary A. Martin, Mrs. C. E. Bogardus, Henry W. Thurston and others.

JOINT SECTION MEETING

THE COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN WITH THE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

Henry W. Thurston, Presiding.

Tuesday, July 8: Papers by Dr. Lilburn Merrill, of Seattle, on "Diagnostic Methods as an Aid in Juvenile Court Administration," and by Dr. John Adams Colliver, of Los Angeles, on "The Psychological and Social Study of Children." Discussion participated in by Dr. Mary O'Brien Porter, W. A. Gates, H. P. Richardson and others.

Besides the announced meetings there were three or four informal gatherings to discuss "Women's Work in Charity and Correction," "Mothers' Pensions," and other topics. These were hastily called in some cases, but they were all well attended and full of live discussions.

Rules of Procedure for the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

(As Amended July 11, 1913.)

Preamble.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction exists to discuss the problems of charities and correction, to disseminate information and promote reforms. It does not formulate platforms.

Membership.

All persons who are interested in charities and correction may become members by registering their names and paying the annual fee.

Honorary members may be elected on recommendation of the Executive Committee.

The annual membership fee shall be $2.50 and the sustaining membership fee shall be $10.00 annually. These membership fees shall entitle each member to a copy of the Proceedings and other publications of the Conference. Sustaining members shall be entitled to a second copy of the Proceedings, on request.

State Boards of Charities and other societies and institutions subscribing for the Proceedings in quantities shall be entitled to enroll their officers and members as members of this Conference at the rate of one member for each $2.50 paid.

Officers.

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, first, second and third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer, and a Corresponding Secretary from each state and territory. These officers shall be elected annually by the Conference.

Committees.

The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee and a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the ensuing Conference.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, first Vice-President, the Treasurer and all ex-Presidents, ex-officio, and ten members who shall be elected as follows: Five each year for a term of two years. Provided, that at the election following the adoption of this amendment, five members shall be elected for one year and five for two years.

The President, at least three months before the opening of the Conference, shall appoint a committee of thirteen on Organization of the next Conference, and shall fill vacancies which occur in its membership. The duties of this committee shall be to select the subjects to be considered by the next Conference, to decide upon the titles of the committees which shall be asked to present them, and to nominate the chairmen, vice-chairmen and some members of the committees.

The President, soon after the opening of the Conference, shall appoint a committee of nine on nomination. This committee shall nominate the following officers, viz: The President, the Vice-Presidents, the Elective Members of the Executive Committee and the Secretaries.

The President shall also appoint a committee of three on resolutions; to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate.

At each annual session of the Conference, on the first day after the organization, the President shall appoint a committee to be known as the Committee on Time and Place of the next meeting. The Committee

on Time and Place shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the same day for the purpose of receiving invitations from states or cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of invitations by all cities or states desiring to present such invitations. The committee shall report to the Conference not later than 12 o'clock, noon, of the day following their appointment. The action on report of the committee shall be by a rising vote, provided that the city receiving the highest vote shall be selected; and provided, further, that the place of meeting selected may be changed by the Executive Committee, if satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made.

Duties of Officers.

The President shall be chairman, ex-officio, of the Executive Committee, and shall have the supervision of the work of the several committees in preparing for the meeting of the Conference. He shall have authority to accept resignations and to fill vacancies in the list of officers and chairmen of committees, and to fill vacancies in and add to the numbers of any committee except the Executive Committee. In case of the absence or inability of the President to serve he shall be succeeded by the first Vice-President, and he in like manner by the second or third Vice-President in the order named.

The General Secretary shall be ex-officio Secretary of the Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Committee on Reports from States. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Conference with officers, committees and others under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the distribution of all announcements and programs, and shall direct the work of the secretaries and be responsible for the correctness of the roll of members. He shall be the custodian of the unsold copies of the reports of the Proceedings, receive all orders for the same, and direct their distribution.

He shall receive all membership fees and proceeds of sales of the reports of the Proceedings, and pay the same promptly to the Treasurer. He shall receive compensation for his services and an allowance for clerk hire and other expenses, the amount and time of payment of which shall be fixed by the Executive Committee from time to time.

The President and Secretary elected at any Conference shall assume the duties of their respective positions thirty (30) days after the close of the Conference at which they were elected.

The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys of the Conference, all disbursements to be made only upon order of the General Secretary, approved by the President or by some member of the Executive Committee, to be named by the President.

The Official Reporter shall report the Proceedings of the Conference, under the direction of the General Secretary.

The Retiring President of the Conference and the General Secretary shall constitute a Publication Committee, and shall have charge of the editing and publishing of the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretaries shall be responsible for the annual reports from their several states. It shall be their duty to secure the attendance of representatives from public and private institutions and societies.

The Duties of Committees.

The Executive Committee shall be the President's Advisory Board, and shall hold the powers of the Conference in the interim between the meetings. The Executive Committee may appoint sub-committees to attend to matters of detail.

Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President of the Conference, and five members shall constitute a quorum,

provided, that, when the Conference is not in session three members shall constitute a quorum.

The Local Committee shall make all necessary local arrangements for the meeting, and provide suitable meeting places, satisfactory to the President and the General Secretary. They shall provide funds for the expenses of the Conference in such amount as the Executive Committee may determine.

The President, in consultation with the Chairman of each standing Committee, shall arrange the program for the sessions and section meetings, and shall so arrange it as to give opportunity for free discussion; provided that the program, before final adoption, shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

No paper shall be presented to the Conference except through the proper committee, and no paper shall be read in the absence of the writer except by unanimous consent.

In cases when there is a cognate national organization which meets at or about the time of the National Conference, the chairman of the appropriate committee shall endeavor to co-operate with the President of the said national organization and as far as possible shall endeavor to correlate the programs of the said society and of the Conference.

Section Meetings.

The Section Meetings are designed for familiar discussion. Not more than two papers shall be read at any section meeting, to occupy together not more than thirty minutes. If possible, papers shall be printed and distributed beforehand, that the entire meeting may be given to discussion. No afternoon meetings shall be inserted in the official program.

Debates.

In the debates of the Conference, speakers shall be limited to five minutes each except by unanimous consent, and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

Kindred Organizations.

The Executive Committee may authorize the Secretary to announce in the official program the meetings of certain national societies whose purposes are in harmony with those of the National Conference, and which meet at the same place and during, or immediately after or before, the sessions of the National Conference. No such meetings shall be announced until after action by the Executive Committee upon each year's announcement. No such meeting shall be announced which is to occur more than four days prior to the opening meeting of the Conference. No meeting shall be announced which conflicts in time with any meeting of the Conference.

The kindred organizations whose meetings are announced in the Conference program shall be invited to send, if they see fit, to the Secretary of the Conference, in writing, not later than the second day of the Conference session, suggestions as to topics and speakers for the program of the next year's session. Also several names of persons desirable for membership on the standing committees of the next Conference. Such suggestions shall be turned over by the Secretary of the Conference to the Committee on Organization.

Amendments.

These rules shall remain in force from year to year, unless amended; and all additions or amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Committee before being acted on by the Conference.

Organization of the Conference for 1913

President, Frank Tucker, New York, N. Y.; First Vice President, F. H. Nibecker, Glen Mills, Pa.; Second Vice President, James R. Garfield, Cleveland, O.; Third Vice President, O. K. Cushing, San Francisco, Cal.; General Secretary, Alexander Johnson, Angola, Ind.; Assistant Secretaries, Winthrop D. Lane, New York, N. Y.; W. S. Reynolds, Chicago, Ill.; J. J. Kelso, Toronto, Canada; Miss Katherine C. Felton, San Francisco, Cal.; Miss Virginia McMechen, Seattle, Wash.; V. R. Manning, Jacksonville Fla.; Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Mass.

Executive Committee—The ex-presidents as follows: F. B. Sanborn, Massachusetts (1881*); Hastings H. Hart, Illinois (1893); Alexander Johnson, Indiana (1897); William R. Stewart, New York (1898); Charles R. Henderson, Illinois (1899); Charles E. Faulkner, Minnesota (1900); John M. Glenn, Maryland (1901); Timothy Nicholson, Indiana (1902); Robert W. de Forest, New York, (1903); Jeffrey R. Brackett, Massachusetts (1904); Rev. Samuel G. Smith, D. D., Minnesota (1905); Edward T. Devine, New York (1906); Amos W. Butler, Indiana (1907); Thomas M. Mulry, New York (1908); Ernest P. Bicknell, Illinois (1909); Miss Jane Addams, Illinois (1910); Homer Folks, New York (1911); Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C. (1912); The President, Frank Tucker; the First Vice President, F. H. Nibecker, and the following additional persons, for one year; James F. Jackson, Cleveland, O.; Elmer L. Coffeen, Westboro, Mass.; Robert A. Woods, Boston, Mass.; Cyrus L. Sulzberger, New York, N. Y.; W. A. Gates, San Francisco, Cal.; for two years: Mary E. Richmond, New York, N. Y.; Edmond J. Butler, New York, N. Y.; Rabbi W. S. Friedman, Denver, Colo.; Richard Hayter, Seattle, Wash.; Graham Taylor, Chicago, Ill.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Children.

Chairman, W. J. Doherty, Catholic Home Bureau, New York, N. Y.

Vice Chairman, Henry W. Thurston, New York.

Members: Hon. Geo. S. Addams, Cleveland, O.; Hon. H. H. Baker, Boston, Mass.; W. B. Baker, Spokane, Wash.; B. D. Bogen, Cincinnati, O.; Dr. L. B. Bernstein, Pleasantville, N. Y.; L. J. Covington, Seattle, Wash.; Hon. W. C. Dunbar, Boise, Idaho; Marcus Fagg, Jacksonville, Fla.; James E. Fee, Boston, Mass.; Miss Charlotte Goff, Davenport, Ia.; Dr. Luther Gulick, New York, N. Y.; Rev. Bro. Henry, New York, N. Y.; Dr. George B. Mangold, St. Louis, Mo.; J. B. Montgomery, Coldwater, Mich.; Miss Frances Morse, Boston, Mass.; J. P. Murphy, Boston, Mass.; W. F. Penn, Morganza, Pa.; C. A. Perry, New York, N. Y.; F. J. Sessions, Davenport, Ia.; Arthur Towne, Albany, N. Y.; R. S. Wallace, Philadelphia, Pa.; E. J. Ward, Madison, Wis.; James E. West, New York, N. Y.; Charles W. Wilson, Westboro, Mass.

*The date following the name of each ex-president shows the year of his presidency.

The Church and Social Work.

Chairman, John M. Glenn, New York, N. Y.

Vice Chairman, Frederic Almy, Buffalo, N. Y.

Members: Rabbi R. I. Coffee, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rev. J. A. Freeman, Minneapolis, Minn.; Rev. Herbert A. Jump, Oakland, Cal.; Rev. Dr. Wm. J. Kerby, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, New York, N. Y.; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore, Md.; A. E. Marling, New York, N. Y.; Rev. M. A. Matthews, Seattle, Wash., J. E. McCulloch, Nashville, Tenn.; Thos. M. Mulry, New York, N. Y.; Prof. C. S. Nash, Berkeley, Cal.; R. A. Norris, Salem, Ore.; Rt. Rev. O'Dea, Seattle, Wash.; Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, Portland, Ore.; Rev. Bryant C. Prestine, Spokane, Wash.; Wm. J. Schieffelin, New York, N. Y.; Rev. Charles Stelzle, New York, N. Y.; Rev. Henry R. Talbot, Portland, Ore.; Graham Taylor, Chicago, Ill.; Raymond Robins, Chicago, Ill.

Distribution and Assimilation of Immigrants.

Chairman, Graham Taylor, Chicago, Ill.

Vice Chairman, Miss Lillian D. Wald, New York, N. Y.

Members: Miss Grace Abbott, Chicago, Ill.; Jane Addams, Chicago, Ill.; Sadie American, New York, N. Y.; Dana W. Bartlett, Los Angeles, Cal.; Prof. W. G. Beach, Seattle, Wash.; D. M. Bressler, New York, N. Y.; Prof. K. R. Butterfield, Amherst, Mass.; C. C. Chapman, Portland, Ore.; Prof. John R. Commons, Madison, Wis.; Charles C. Fenn, Seattle, Wash.; Prof. J. W. Jenks, New York, N. Y.; Frances Kellor, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Agnes C. Laut, Wassaic, N. Y.: D. O. Lively, Portland, Ore.; Henry Moskovitz, New York, N. Y.; James Mullenbach, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Jessica Peixotto, Berkeley, Cal.; Peter Roberts, New York, N. Y.; Leonard G. Robison, New York, N. Y.; Prof. Edward A. Steiner, Grinnell, Ia.; Prof. Wm. Thomas, Chicago, Ill.; Lawrence Veiller, New York, N. Y.; Rabbi Jonah D. Wise, Portland, Ore.

Families and Neighborhoods.

Chairman, Miss Alice L. Higgins, Boston, Mass.

Vice Chairman, John A. Kingsbury, New York, N. Y.

Members: Mrs. Elizabeth Ash, San Francisco, Cal.; Miss S. P. Breckenridge, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Katherine M. Briggs, Chicago, Ill.; Henry F Burt, Minneapolis, Minn.; Mrs. Annie M. Chesley, Cambridge, Mass.; Miss Ellen Cook, Kansas City, Mo.; Edmond J. Curry, New York, N. Y.; Miss Katherine C. Felton, San Francisco, Cal.; A. R. Gephart, Spokane, Wash.; C. M. Hubbard, St. Louis, Mo.; Eugene T. Lies, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Jennie Mandel, Chicago, Ill.; V. R. Manning, Jacksonville, Fla.; Rudolph Matz, Chicago, Ill.; Francis H. McLean, New York, N. Y.; Miss Virginia McMechen, Seattle, Wash.; J. J. O'Connor, Minneapolis, Minn.; W. Frank Persons, New York, N. Y.; S. A. Rabinovitch, Milwaukee, Wis.; Rudolph Solensten, St. Paul, Minn.; Miss Amie C. Turberville, San Francisco, Cal.; Miss Harriet Vittum, Chicago, Ill.; Morris W. Waldman, New York, N. Y.; Durand Whipple, Little Rock, Ark.; James O. White, Cincinnati, O.

Health and Productive Power.

Chairman, Dr. Livingston Farrand, New York, N. Y.

Vice Chairman, Lee F. Hanmer, New York, N. Y.

Members: Dr. Henry B. Favill, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. S. Josephine Baker, New York, N. Y.; Meyer Bloomfield, Boston, Mass.; Howard Braucher, New York, N. Y.; Dr. J. E. Crichton, Seattle, Wash.; Arthur D. Dean, Albany, N. Y.; Dr. W. A. Evans, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Morris Fishberg, New York, N. Y.; Prof. Irving Fisher, New Haven, Conn.; Miss Mary Gardner, Providence, R. I.; Dr. George W. Goler, Rochester, N. Y.; Miss Pauline Goldmark, New York, N. Y.; Dr. S. S. Goldwater, New York, N. Y.; Dr. Walter Griswold, Seattle, Wash.; Dr. David Starr Jordan, Palo Alto, Cal.; Franklin B. Kirkbride, New York, N. Y.; Don Lescohier, St. Paul, Minn.; James A. Lowell, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Adolf Meyer, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Wal-

ter McNab Miller, Columbia, Mo.; James W. Minnick, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, Chicago, Ill.; H. Wirt Steele, Baltimore, Md.; F. W. Taylor, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. F. E. Westbrook, Minneapolis Minn.; Dr. Ira S. Wile, New York, N. Y.; Frank E. Wing, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Lucy Wright, Boston, Mass.

Probation, Prisons and Parole.

Chairman, C. B. Adams, St. Charles, Ill.

Vice Chairman, George B. Robinson, New York, N. Y.

Members: Jacob Billikopf, Kansas City, Mo.; Homer Folks, New York, N. Y.; Prof. James W. Garner, Urbana, Ill.; O. F. Lewis, New York, N. Y.; Edwin Mulready, Boston, Mass.; Howard P. Nash, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. George M. Parker, New York, N. Y.; C. S. Read, Walla Walla, Wash.; Mrs. J. A. Reed, Seattle, Wash.; Cleon B. Roe, Monroe, Wash.; Corwin S. Shank, Seattle, Wash.; John J. Sonsteby, Chicago, Ill.; Major R. G. Sylvester, Washington, D. C.; Thomas J. Tynan, Canon City, Colo.; Joseph N. Ulman, Baltimore, Md.; Governor Oswald West, Salem, Ore.; E. Stagg Whitin, New York, N. Y.; Henry W. Wolfer, Stillwater, Minn.

Public Supervision and Administration.

Chairman, Wm. T. Cross, Columbia, Mo.

Vice Chairman, Alexander M. Wilson, Philadelphia, Pa.

Members: Senator J. D. Bassett, Spokane, Wash.; Hon. Chas. J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.; A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Ill.; H. C. Bowman, Topeka, Kan.; Harris R. Cooley, Cleveland, O.; Miss Frances G. Curtis, Manchester, Mass.; Dr. W. F. Drewry, Petersburg, Va.; Dr. J. R. Haynes, Los Angeles, Cal.; Dr. R. W. Hill, Albany, N. Y.; H. T. Jones, Olympia, Wash.; Dr. Frank P. Norbury, Springfield, Ill.; Prof. C. S. Potts, Austin, Tex.; H. H. Shirer, Columbus, O.; William Thomas, Denver, Colo.

Relation of Commercial Organizations to Social Welfare.

Chairman, Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis, Mo.

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Marsh, Benjamin C., 26 Jones St.
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Miller, Dr. James Alexander, 18 W. 51st St.
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Miner, Miss Maude E., 19 W. 9th St.
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*Mulry, Thomas M., 543 W. 21st St.
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*New York Catholic Protectory, 415 Broome St.
New York Public Library, 476 Fifth Ave.
*O'Donohue, Joseph J., Jr., 101 Front St.
Ollesheimer, Mrs. H., Hotel Savoy.
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Parker, Edward Justus, 122 W. 14th St.
Patterson, Miss Helen M., 71 E. 125th St.
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Persons, W. Frank, 105 E. 22nd St.
Peters, Rev. John P., 227 W. 99th St.
Peterson, Dr. Frederick, 20 W. 50th St.
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Prest, John B., 287 Fourth Ave.
Prison Association of New York, 135 E. 15th St.
Proudfit, Alexander C., 105 E. 22nd St.
Rankin, Miss Ada, 105 E. 22nd St.
Reynolds, James B, 151 Central Park West.
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Rowell, George C., 287 Fourth Ave.
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Sanford, Miss Mary R., 90 Grove St.

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*Schiff, Mortimer L., 52 William St.
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*Schuyler, Miss Louisa Lee, 37 Madison Ave.
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Seligman, Isaac N., 1 S. William St.
Shaw, Albert, Editor Review of Reviews.
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Smith, Mrs. Frank S., Hotel Plaza.
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Spallen, Mrs. Anna M., 175 E. 68th St.
Speranza, Gino C., 40 Pine St.
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Stern, Benjamin, 32 W. 23rd St.
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*Stewart, Hon. William R., 31 Nassau St.
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*Strong, George A., 43 Wall St.
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*Thorne, Samuel, 19 Cedar St.
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*Van Wagenen, Bleecker, 443 Fourth Ave.
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*Emery, Mrs. Thomas J., Walnut Hills.
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Fox, George, 31 E. Fourth St.
Freiberg, J. Walter, 216 E. Front St.
*Freiberg, Maurice J., Freiberg & Workum Co.
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*Jonap, Henry, Race St.
*Kuhn, Robert, 1020 Sycamore St.
Levi, Louis S., 532 Prospect Pl.
*Levy, Harry M., 309 Traction Bldg.
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Silver, Mrs. M. T., 1725 Magnolia Drive.
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Smith; Mrs. Francis Perry, 2051 E. 89th St.
Smith, Miss Lillian M., Prospect and E. 18th St.
Smith, Miss Marie Virginia, 1978 E. 116th St.
Smith, Mrs. S. Lewis, 1960 E. 82nd St.
Southworth, Mrs. Otis, Euclid Hts.
Squire, Andrew, 3445 Euclid Ave.
Squire, Mrs. Andrew, 3443 Euclid Ave.
Stevens, Miss Sarah B., 1627 E. 93rd St.
Stockwell, Miss Cornelia R., 2291 Murray Hill Rd.
Studley, Miss Rachel M., 2157 E. 46th St.
Sullivan, Miss Selma, 7218 Euclid Ave.
Tascher, Miss Irma, 4203 Euclid Ave.
Thomas, Dr. J. J., 1110 Euclid Ave.
Tippett, Rev. E. H., 8273 Hough Ave.
Turk, Joseph, 2627 Prospect Ave.
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West, Thomas O., 10511 Pasadena Ave.
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Williams, C. W., 419 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
Williams, Edward M., 601 Canal Road.
Williams, Mrs. E. M., 10916 Magnolia Drive.
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Wing, Miss Virginia R., 3133 Prospect St.
Wolf, Miss Cora, 1647 E. 117th St.
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Wright, Howell, 501 St. Clair Ave., N. E.
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OKLAHOMA.

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Busby, William, McAlester.
Curtiss, Mrs. A. E., 203 C St., N. W., Ardmore.
Gill, Joseph A., Vinita.
Goulding, Hon. P. G., Enid.
Hinshaw, Prof. E. B., Broken Arrow.
Huson, H., Oklahoma City.
Newell, Dr. E. G., Supply.
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OREGON.

Barber, Rev. J. M., Forrest Grove.
Bauer, Rev. Philip E., State Penitentiary, Salem.
Bishop, F. A., Hood River.
Dallas Public Library, Dallas.
Galloway, Mrs. Emma, 821 Saginaw St., Salem.
Hale, Will S., State Training School, Salem.
Moores, E. T., South Church St., Salem.
Oregon Agricultural College Library, Corvallis.
Oregon Library Commission, State House, Salem.
Oregon State Hospital, Hospital Station, Salem.
Osburne, Mrs. W. F., Hotel Osburne, Eugene.
Public Library, Salem.
Randall, Miss Martha, 41 10th Ave., W., Eugene.
Schofer, Joseph, 1378 13th Ave., E., Eugene.
Young, F. G., 599 9th Ave., E., Eugene.

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Eggert, Mrs. F., 265 14th St.
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Flegel, A. F., 402-408 Failing Bldg.
Foster, William Trufant, Reid College.
Gardner, W. T., E. 29th and Irving Sts.
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Grettinger, Miss Emma E., 601 Medical Bldg.
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Terry, David J., 415 S. 15th St.
Travelers' Aid Society of Philadelphia, 124 S. 12th St.
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McCusker, James F., Pontiac.
Read, Walter A., Glocester.
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Anthony Miss Mary B., 72 Manning St.
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Carpenter, Mrs. F. W., 276 Angell St.
Chace, Miss Lydia G., 109 Washington St.
Cheney, Mrs. Edward S., 34 Plain St.
Clifton, Miss Amy C., 307 State House.
Cummings, Matthew J., 616 Eddy St.
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Gardner, Henry B., 54 Stimson Ave.
Gardner, Miss Mary S. 273 Bowen St.
Hartwell, Miss Ada M. C., 73 Medway St.
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Horton, Horace F., 87 Weybosset St.
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Maymon, Thomas B., 55 Eddy St.
O'Neill, Miss E. Frances, 109 Washington St.
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Index

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

Admin.	Administration,-ive	Fam.	Family.	Org.	Organized,-ation,-s.
Assn.	Association.	F. M.	Feebleminded,-ness		
Chil.	Child,-ren,-'s.			Pop.	Population
Char.	Charity,-ies,-able.	Gen.	General.	Prev.	Prevent,-ion,-ing.
Com.	Committee.	Govt.	Government,-al.	Pris.	Prison,-s,-er,ers.
Comn.	Commission,-s.			Prob.	Probation.
Compar.	Comparison,-ative	Hous.	House,-s,-ing.	Prot.	Protestant.
Com'l.	Commercial.			Pub.	Public,-ity
Cond.	Condition,-s.	Imgt.	Immigration,-nts.		
Conf.	Conference, ,s.	Indus.	Industrial,-y.	Ref.	Reference.
Cor.	Correction,-s,-al.	Inf.	Infant.	Refor.	Reform,-atory.
C. O. S.	Charity Organization Society.	Insp.	Inspect,-or-ion.	Reg.	Regulation,-s,-ing.
		Inst.	Institution,-s,-al.	Rehab.	Rehabilitation.
Crit.	Criticized.-ism.	Investg.	Investigate,-d,-ion.	Rep.	Report,-ed,-ing.
Del.	Delinquent,-cy.	Juv.	Juvenile.	Quot.	Quoted,-ation.
Dep.	Dependent,-cy	Legis.	Legislator,-s,-ive--ure,-ion.	Sec.	Section,-s.
Dept.	Department.			Soc.	Society,-al.
Devel.	Development,-s.	Memb.	Member,-s,-ship.	Superv.	Supervisor,-s,-ion.
Descr.	Description,-s,-ive,--ibed.	Mort.	Mortality.		
		Mtg.	Meeting,-s.	Tbc.	Tuberculosis.
Disc.	Discussion,-ed.			Trng.	Training.
Econ.	Economic,-s,-al.	Nat.	National.		
Educ.	Educate,-d,-ion.				

(See Next Page for Important Explanation.)

A

Accidents (see indus. accidents)
Admin., co-operation among agencies for chil. 304
of char. standards 108
of insts., purpose 198
of pris., centralized 134
of pris., defended 130
of pris. system 133
Adult prob. (see probation)
Advertising (see publicity)
Agricultural (see rural, pris. farm)
Agriculture and imgt. 50, 51, 53
Alexander, Archibald, anecdote 23
Aliens imgt. 46
Almy, Frederic W., telegram of sympathy 398
American Medical Assn. and soc. work 350
Amusements, comrl., control of 369
Anderson, Miss Harriet E., paper 376
Appropriation to Federal Chil. Bureau 323
Appropriations to private inst. by cities 211
Ariz. work for chil. 334
Arnold, Miss Ruth, disc. 381
Assimilation of imgt. 26, 60
Atkinson, Rev. Henry A., address 154
Australia, minimum wage 232
Ayres, Leonard P., quot. 349

B

Babies (see chil., inf.)
Bailey, Prof., quot. 295
Baldwin, Roger N., com. rep. 73
introduced 393
Barnabas, Rev. Bro., com. rep. 276
Bartlett, Dr. Dana, ref. 64
Baths, floating, in N. Y. 171
Beach, Walter G., paper 257
Beard, John W., address 36
Benevolent (see char., dep., donations)
Bert, Mrs. Fred W., presentation 391
Biblical ref. 14, 19, 24

Birmingham survey 346
Birth registraton 173
Blanpied, Charles W., rep. 42
Blind, care for in Wash. 201
Boards of Control (see pub. superv. admin.)
Brice, Sir Evelyn Ruggles, quot. 134
Budgets, fam., (see Social Justice, Tucker)
Building and loan assns. in U. S. 367
Bureaus of municipal research, ref. 209
Business (see also indus.)
  big, in management of insts. 190
Byers, Joseph P., paper 129
Byington, Miss Margaret F., paper 370

C

Cabot, Dr. Richard C., quot. 383
Calif., birth registration 177
  minimum wage comn. 230
  system of child saving descr. 306
  workmen's compensation 272
Case com. in Louisville 377
Case desc., insurance 361, relief 356, 357, 359, 360, 362
  work (see rehab.)
Census, beginnings of 348
  U. S., birth statistics 175
Central Council defined 344
  of soc. agencies of Seattle 385, 391
  present status 336
  in various cities 342
Central Council, The, (O'Connor) paper 340
Chalmers, quot. 24
Chamber of Commerce of the U. S., descr. 75
Chambers of Commerce (see comrl)
Char. (see also dep., poverty, pub. char., private char., etc.)
Char. and Cor. (see also special fields, such as pub. superv., pris., etc.)
  meaning of term 184
  of Wash. state descr. 195
  endorsement (see endorsement) and co-operation 148
C. O. S. and char. endorsement 100
  case discipline and ideals 353
  in community welfare work 338, 339
  Leadership in Smaller Cities (Byington) paper 370
  requirements for leadership 382
  Training in Smaller Cities (Anderson) paper 376
Char., standards and principles 106
Chicago, growth of 342
  soc. agencies in 342
Child abandonment in Calif. 308
  helping agencies affected by an exhibit 312
  labor and low wages in South 247
Child Labor and the Minimum Wage (McKelway) paper 246
  labor, the vicious circle 316
  rearing and family efficiency 370
Chil. (see also illegitimacy, juv., vocational)
  Auditing the Birth Account: A Necessary Process in our Social Bookkeeping (Meriam) paper 173
Children (Barnabas) com. rep. 276
  birth registration, *Discussion* (Davidson) 180
  Bureau, Federal, and birth registration 178
    of Child Hygiene of N. Y. Health Dept., ref. 172
  Caring for Dependent Children in California (Gates) paper 306
  dep. among ingts. 66

EXPLANATION.

Names of states, etc., the usual P. O. abbreviations, as N. Y., Ala., U. S. Phrases in **Italics** signify titles of papers. Author's name follows title.

The Index contains the names of all speakers at the Seattle meeting and of all persons to whom important reference is made or who are quoted. The Index does not contain reference by name to officers and members of committees, nor to speakers whose words are not published. These may be found by reference under the words "committee" and "officers."

The Index contains references to all geographical divisions to which important reference is made, except where series of data or statistics are given, with many references to cities or states. In such cases the material is usually classified under "statistics." The Index does not contain references to social developments in the various states usually known as the **Reports from States.** For the year 1913 this material is contained in Bulletin 62, issued by the Conference, carefully classified and indexed.

Papers, addresses and reports will be found not by reference to their exact titles, but under the general subjects to which they most nearly relate. The Index is intended to include all the more important subject references in the volume.

examples of rural needs 297
Federal Bureau for information 322
functions of insts. for chil. 277
inf. mort. in N. Y. 172
model law for birth registration 178
more valuable than agricultural products 182
need of agencies 300
need of classification in insts 294
rescue homes Pittsburgh and Chicago 335
six fundamentals tasks of child saving 303
teaching thrift 367
The Aims and Objects of the Federal Children's Bureau (Meriam) paper 317
The Child Welfare Exhibit as a Means of Child Helping (Strong) paper 311
The Need of Child Welfare Work in Rural Communities (Slingerland) paper 295
the unplaceable class 276
Unity in Child Helping Service (Cross) paper 302
unity in treatment of dep. 304
work for in Ariz. 334
wrong discipline in inst. 284
welfare exhibit, definition 311
Church (see also religion)
Christian, measure of success 158
country, needs 299
crit. 16
definition 138
example of practical activities 150
field work in Providence 156
function 24, 148, 157, 158
indolence of pulpit 18
originator of soc. service 23
"Ten minutes from the Church" 155
The Church and Soc. Work (Atkinson) address 154
(Glenn) address 138
(Ryan) address 156
The Church and the Community (Magruder) address 151
The Soc. Work of a Church from a Layman's Point of View (Johnson) address 146
twofold crit. 156
Cities and imgt. statistics 43 fol.
growth of, descr. 343, 345
small, and C. O. S. 370
City (see also pub. superv. and admin.)
appropriations to private insts. 211
Boards of Public Welfare and Good City Government (Halbert) paper 212
char. and cor. 186
crit. 192
former neglect 208
in many cities, descr. 208
in Wash. state 196
char. endorsement 104
govt., depts. of, and soc. betterment 209
improvements 76
planning (see housing)
The Development of Municipal Charities in the United States (Howe) paper 208
Civil service (see also politics)
examinations for prob. officers 122
in Kansas City 221
for pub insts. 191
Classification of pris. 131
Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, descr. 84
char. endorsement descr. 111
Clothes and soc. justice 8
Colo., minimum wage comn. 230
Commercialism, new theory 91
Comrl. *A Chamber of Commerce Militant—The Story of Fifteen Years' Work in Cleveland* (Williams) paper 84
orgs. and char. endorsement 101
county 98
reactionary 81
relation of to soc. welfare, action of com. 73
state 98
prosperity, basis of 147
The Essentials of the Cleveland Experiment in Co-operative Benevolence (Williams) paper 111
The Relation of Commercial Organizations to Social Welfare (Baldwin) com. rep. 73
The Relation of Commercial Organizations to Neighboring Rural Communities (Howard) paper 92
The Role of Commercial Organizations in Social Welfare

on the Pacific Coast (Trumbull) paper 95
Com. on Children papers 276, gen. mtg. 391, sec. mtg. 405, 408; memb. 1913, 412; memb. 1914, 416
on Corrections memb. 1914, 416
on Defectives memb. 1914, 417
on Distribution and Assimilation of Immigrants: papers 26, gen. mtg. 392, sec. mtg. 406, memb. 1913, 413
on Families and Neighborhoods: papers 332, gen. mtg. 394, sec. mtg. 406, memb. 1913, 413
on Health and Productive Power: papers 159, gen. mtg. 395, memb. 1913, 413
on Health: memb. 1914, 416
on Neighborhood Development: memb. 1914, 415
on Nominations rep. 397
on Organization, rep. 398
on Probation, Prisons and Parole: papers 116, gen. mtg. 397, sec. mtg. 407, memb. 1913, 414
on Public Charities, memb. 1914, 416
on Public Supervision and Administration: papers 198, gen. mtg. 396, sec. mtg. 407, memb. 1913, 414
on Relations of Commercial Organizations to Social Welfare: papers 73, gen. mtg. 393, sec. mtg. 406, memb. 1913, 414
on Resolutions, rep. 400, 402
on Social Hygiene, memb. 1914, 416
on Standards of Living and Labor: papers 222, gen. mtg. 399, sec. mtg. 407, memb. 1913, 414; 1914, 416
on The Church and Social Work: papers 138, gen. mtg. 398, sec. mtg. 408, memb. 1913, 413
on The Family and the Community: memb. 1914, 415
on Time and Place, rep. 394
Community (see also neighborhood, social centers)
and crime 136
and the church 151
devel. and Cleveland Chamber of Commerce 87
effects of a child welfare exhibit 314
org., *Social Problems in Variously Sized Cities* (McLean) paper 332
the central council of soc. agencies 340
under trained leadership 373
problems and the church 144
of growing cities 346
welfare work (see also central councils of soc. agencies)
work in churches in Providence 156
Compensation (see also industry, labor, wages, workmen's compensation)
Compensaton for Industrial Diseases (Hoffman) paper 264
workmen's and imgt. 33
Conn. birth registration 177
Consumers' League of Oregon, Investg. by 235
leagues (see also Kelley, Mrs. Florence)
Leagues, first and second international conferences 229
Convict as a man 120
Convicts (see prisoners)
Co-operation of church with soc. agencies 144
Constructive effort, new era 5
Co-operation (see also under special topics, as health, pub. char., etc.)
in imgt. 39
of soc. agencies under Federal Chil. Bureau 321
rural and comrl. 93
through the central council of soc. agencies 340
Co-ordination of community forces 374
Cotterill, Mayor George F., address of welcome 387
Country (see rural)
County char. and cor., crit. 186
in Wash. 195
superv. and admin. crit. 192
comrl. orgs. 98
poor unit for birth registration 179
Court decisions (see under special subjects, as workmen's compensation)

Courts (see also children, juvenile, law)
domestic relations in N. Y. 123
Crichton, James F., M. D., paper 165
Crime and the Church 142
econ. of state control 188
Crimes and prop. in N. Y. state 125
Criminal (see delinquents, juvenile, prisoners, etc.)
the def. 133
the floating 119
Cross, William T., acceptance of general secretaryship 404
com. rep. 183
introduced 396
paper 302
Custodial care 2
function in admin. 198

D

Dance insp. in Kansas City 217
Davidson, Dr. C. F., disc. 180
Def. (see also epilepsy, mental)
admin. agencies concerned 304
del., examples 327
diagnosis of juv. court cases 324
earning ability 244
in indus. 243
trng. for f. m. girls 293
Del. among imgts 69
Dep. among imgts 66
Devine, E. T., quot. 379
Dietary (see also food)
in insts. of Wash. 199
Discipline, pris. 131, 132
Discussions at Seattle: for names of speakers see minutes 385 fol.
Disease (see also health and medical)
and duty of church 142
as cause of poverty 169
compensation for industrial 264
diarrheal and fly 171
infectious 162
relation to indus. 259
Doctrines (see platforms, principles, programs)
Domestic service bureau in Ore. 240
trng. for girls in insts. 291
Donations. char., in Cleveland 112 fol.

E

Educ. (see also schools)
and child saving 305
and pub. health 162
and ref. 131, 133
for indus. efficiency, those needing 237
illiteracy and child labor in South 248
of the imgt. 60 fol.
and soc. justice 8
are state trng. schools penal 200
indus., values of 239
in relation to child saving 303
needed for rural chil. 298
vocational investg. 80
Efficiency and good wages 235, 236, and fol.
criterion of race efficiency 302
in birth registration 177
Efficiency of char. orgs. 100, 106
of insts. for chil. 279
of municipal char. 211
of public health service 159
through pub. superv. and admin. 190
Efficient churches 138 fol.
Elmira Ref. and parole system 126
Emigration from Pacific Coast 45
Employers' Liability (see liability)
Employment, free bureau in Kansas City 217
Endorsement, char. by Cleveland Chamber of Commerce 89
Developing Standards (Halbert) paper 106
Charities Endorsement in Retrospect and Prospect (Stewart) paper 100
char. examples 101
nat. clearing house 106
principles 102, 103
The Essentials of the Cleveland Experiment (Williams) paper 111
Eng., compensation for diseases, statistics 268 fol.
early child labor 247
minimum wage 230, 233
English birth registration act, ref. 174
English, H. D. W., quot. 79
English system of workmen's compensation, descr. and crit. 249 fol. 264
Epileptic (see also def.)
Epilepsy and juv. del. 327
Equality non existent 12
Eugenics and pub. superv. 189
Evening schools for imgts. 62
Exhibit method, advantages and dangers 316
the child welfare exhibit 311
Extremes, cultural and econ. 6

F

Factory insp., statistics of, in Kansas City 217
Family disintergration 368
  rehab. (see rehabilitation)
    forces for 344
  The American Faliy and its Problems (Howard) paper 362
Farrand, Livingston, M. D., com. rep. 159
  introduced 395
Federal (see U. S.)
Federation for Charity and Philanthropy of Cleveland, descr. 111
F. M. (see also defectives)
  duty of church toward 142
  method of state control 188
  need of adequate insts. 300
  trng. in insts. 288
Fetter, Prof Frank A., ref. 184
Financial assistance from child welfare exhibit 312
Fire protection in Wash. insts. 199
Folks, Homer, quot. 208
Food, (see also dietary)
  and soc. justice 8
  protection of supply 161
Foreign (see immigration)

G

Galsworthy, quot. 353
Gates, W. Almont, paper 306
German Imeprial Workmen's Insurance Code, quot. 260
  system of workmen's compensation, descr. and crit. 249 fol.
Gilbert, James H., paper 248
Gill and Pinchot, quot. 299
Giving (see donations)
Gladden, Washington, quot. 148
Glenn, John M., address 138
  introduced 288
  Mrs. John M., paper 353
    response to address of welcome 390
Gospel of soc. service 145
Govt. (see city, county, state, and U. S.)
  and soc. justice 11
  care for unfortunates 213, 214
  centralization of soc. agencies 218
Grand jury rep. on insts. 195

H

Halbert, L. A., papers 106, 212
Harrison, Shelby M., paper 345
Hart, Joseph K. paper 39
Health (see also children, housing, infant mortality, sanitation)
  and soc. justice 9
  Co-ordination of Official and Private Activity in Public Health Work (Kingsbury) paper 169
  examples of pub. and private co-operation 170
  functions of pub. health service 163
  milk stations 172
  nat. health service 182
  popular conceptions wrong 160
  pub. and comrl. bodies 76
  requirements of pub. health service 162
  service by private agencies 166
  The Co-ordination of Official and Private Health Agencies (Crichton) paper 165
  The Public Health Situation (Farrand) com. rep. 159
Hilles, Charles D., quot. 276, 278
Hoffman, Frederick L., paper 264
Home, functions changing 368
  the and pris. 130
Honor system, the, of prison labor 116
Hous. and city standards of living 369
  and comrl. bodies 77
  and health on Pacific Coast 97
  and imgt. 54, 59
  and soc. justice 8
  Cleveland Chamber of Commerce 89
  Comn. of San Francisco, ref. 59
  examples of rural needs 297
  insp. in Kansas City, statistics 217
  superv. by Kansas City Board of Pub. Welfare 216
Howard, John R. Jr., paper 92, 362
Howe, Stanley H., paper 208

I

Illegitimacy, difficulties in state superv. 310
  in Calif. 309
Ill. Comn. on Occupational Diseases, quot. 259, 260
  hours of working women 232
Imgt., a man 37
  and agriculture 50, 51, 53
  and dep. 66 fol.

and educ. 60 fol.
and hous. 54, 59
and humanity 71
and indus. 48, 50
and indus. accidents 52
Imgt. and indus. conditions 228
and indus. employment 363
and juv. del. 68
and lodging houses 58
and naturalization 60
and Panama Canal 46
and recreation 64
attitude towards 27 fol. 70 fol.
Canada 34
compar. recent and early 27
Co-operation between Federal and State Officials, Civic and Voluntary Organizations (Hart) paper 39
cost of living 37
distribution by comrl. orgs. 98
Imgt. *Immigrants, Distribution and Assimilation of* (Taylor) com. rep. 26
proportion in cities 343
Imgts. educ. and moral protection 34
employment 52
exploitation of 38, 65
facilities for receiving 47
leaks on borders 48
motives in coming 29
nat. policy 30
Report of Special Immigration Survey of the Pacific Coast (Blanpied) paper 42
statistics 27, 42
state bureaus 32
state legis. 32
Immigrant, The, in the Woods, (Beard) paper 36
Indeterminate sentence and parole in N. Y. 127
Individual treatment in community work 338, 339
Indus. (see also employment, factory, inspection, labor, vocational, workmen)
accidents and imgt. 52
and imgt. 48, 50
diseases scheduled in British workmen's compensation act 265
educ. in dept. stores 238
educ. in Munich 238
evils 15
Indemnity for Trade Disease (Beach) paper 257
justice 16
need of family thrift 366
poisoning, forms of 267
frequency of 272
problems and church 143
in Cleveland 85
relations and comrl. orgs. 79
soc. standards 223
the displaced workingman 363
Inebriety (see also liquor, prohibition)
N. Y. inebriety act, ref. 123
Inf. mort. as admin. problem 303
in Eng. decrease 181
investg. by Federal Chil. Bureau 319
Installment plan justified 365
Inst. (see also prisons, administration, public supervision and administration, etc.)
and the people 191
dietaries in Wash. 199
experience in work for chil. value 281
fire protection in Wash. 199
function of insts. for chil. 277
legis. investg. 198
relation to other govt. agencies 190
reports 190
standards 110
technical problems of admin. 189
trng. and recreation of inmates 189
Insurance (see also workmen's compensation, industry)
against sickness, case cited 367
for indus. accidents and indus. progress 258
soc., and soc. justice 10.
workmen's 248
International Congress of Chambers of Commerce, ref. 75
Investg. by Federal Chil. Bureau 319
in char. endorsement 106
how may be helpful 206
of insts. 198

J

Jails (see also prisons)
central admin. 134
evils of in Birmingham 346
Johnson, Alexander, address 146
resolutions of commendation 402
Justice (see social justice)
difficult to define 157
Justice, Kindness, Religion (McKelway) sermon 14
Juvenile (see also children, delinquency)

courts, *Diagnostic Methods as an Aid in Juvenile Court Administration* (Merrill) paper 324
courts overworked 324
del. among imgts. 68
del. and vocational trng. 288
del. prev. insts. 131
del. support by parents 131, 133

K

Kansas City Board of Pub. Welfare, descr. 212
ref. 189
char. endorsement 110
Kelley, Mrs. Florence, address 229
Kempster, A. L., address for Chamber of Commerce 386
Kern Bill for workmen's compensation 263, 274
Kindness, as soc. virtue 19
Kingsbury, John A., introduced 394
paper 169
Kirchinsteiner system of indus. educ. 238

L

Labor (see also children, industry, prison labor, wages)
and Cleveland Chamber of Commerce 85
and indus. 92
and ref. 131, 132
child labor as admin. problem 303
conditions of superv. by Kansas City Board of Pub. Welfare 216
contract, abolition of 131
disputes, arbitration by comrl. orgs. 80
standards, com. rep. 222
Law against illegitimacy in Calif. 309
Calif. Code for chil. descr. 308
model for birth registration descr. 178
proposed model for workmen's compensation 263, 274
workmen's compensation, descr. 251
Laws (see also legislation)
minimum wage 229
Leadership in community work 336
Legal aid bureau in Kansas City 217
Legislation (see also laws)
unwise 12
Liability, employers' and imgt. 33
Library of Federal Chil. Bureau 318
Lies, Eugene T., quot. 342
Liquor (see also inebriety, prohibition)
and imgt. 38
Lister, Gov. Ernest, address 205
telegram 391
Living, standards, com. rep. 222
standards of (see standard of living)
wage (see wage)
Loans, provident in Kansas City 217
Local arrangements for Seattle Conf. 385 fol.
Lodging houses and imgt. 58
Louisville case com. in C. O. S. work 377
Lumber camps and imgt. 36
indus. and imgt. 51

M

Magruder, J. W., address 151
Management (see administration)
Manning, V. R., disc. 382
Marsh, Pres. quot. 71, 72
Mass. birth registration 177
minimum wage comn. 230
McCulloch, Oscar Carlton, anecdote 149
McKelway, A. J., paper 246
sermon 14
McLean, Francis H., paper 332
McLoughlin, Comr. John P., quot. 70, 71
McMechen, Miss Virginia, disc. 380
Medical (see also health and disease)
service for poor inefficient 364
soc. work, ref. 350
Memb. list Nat. Conf. Char. and Cor. 1913, 418
Mental defectives (see defectives)
examination of juv. del. 324
Meriam, Lewis, papers 173, 317
Merrill, Lilburn, M. D., paper 324
Mich. workmen's compensation 272
Milk stations in N. Y. 172
Milton, quot. 15
Minimum demands of soc. justice 6, 12
wage, federal 226
Minimum Wage Laws (Kelley) address 229
significance 224
wage, *The Problem of the Worker who is Unable to Earn the Legal Minimum Wage* (Wood) paper 234
Minn. minimum wage comn. 230, 233

Minutes of meetings: general 385, section 405
Model laws (see laws)
Moral (see also religion, church)
instability and physical precocity 326
problem in child saving 305
trng, in insts. for chil. 285
Mothers' pensions (see pensions)
Municipal (see also cities)
sanitation and Cleveland Chamber of Commerce 87
Murphy, Edgar Gardner, ref. 246

N

Nashville, reforms 332
National (see U. S.)
Conf. Char. and Cor. and indus. 73
and child labor 246
as judge of soc. endeavor 317
debates descr 183
descr. 1, 5, 6
devel. of 2, 3
evolution of 147
fields of activity 186
new functions 391
political power 5
preparations for Seattle meeting 385 fol.
success of fortieth meeting descr. 402
three stages of evolution descr. 403
Nat. Conf. Imgt., Land and Labor Officials, ref. 32
on Industrial Diseases, memorial, quot. 270
Nat. Consumers' League aims 399
Probation Assn., sec mtg. with Nat. Conf. Char. and Cor. 408
"Nation's Business," quot. 74
Naturalization of imgts. 60
N. H. birth registration 177
N. Y. Assn. for Improving the Cond. of the Poor, ref. 171
birth registration 177
Factory Investg. Comn. 231
quot. 260
penurious in care of chil. 278
State Char. Aid Assn., ref. 170
State Probation Comn. descr. 121
system of prob. and parole descr. 120
Norwegian system of workmen's compensation, descr. and crit. 249 fol.
Nursing and medical efficiency 365

O

O'Connor, J. J., paper 340
Officers Nat. Conf. Char. and Cor. 1913, 412; 1914, 415
Officials (see special fields of work, such as health, immigration, etc.; also public)
Official co-operation of U. S. depts. as to chil. 321
Officials in char. and cor. service, 194
Ohio Indus. Welfare Comn. 231
Ore. birth registration 177
minimum wage comn. 230, 239
Orphanages (see also children, juvenile, institutions)
Orphan asylums in Calif. 306
Outdoor relief in cities 211

P

Pacific Coast (see also West)
and imgt. (see Taylor, Beard, Blanpied)
attractions for Nat. Conf. Char. and Cor. 400 fol.
comrl orgs. 95
soc. needs and Nat. Conf. Char. and Cor. 387, 388, 390
statistics of imgt. 42
Panama Canal and devel. of West 389
and imgt. 46
Parole (see also probation)
standard of judgment 207
statistics of, by Kansas City Board of Pub. Welfare 215
statistics N. Y. state 128
system beginnings 127
Penal (see also criminal, juvenile, prisons, etc.)
Pensions to mothers in Calif. 308
People and their insts. 191
Physicians (see health)
and diagnosis of juv. del. 326
Picture, moving, shows in Kansas City, insp. 217
Pinchot and Gill, quot. 299
Pioneering in C. O. S. work 383
Pittsburgh survey 347
Platform (see also principles, programs)
a soc.—comrl. 82
Play (see recreation)
Police as prob. officers 122
dept. work assumed by juv. courts 325

functions, superv. 187
power and workmens' compensation 251
powers of Kansas City Board of Pub. Welfare 189
Politics, bad effects in Wash. 205
Pop., distribution of in U. S. 363
Porter, Dr. Mary O'Brien, disc. 293
Poverty (see dependency)
abolition of 17
comprehensive treatment 189
disease as cause 169
President's address 1
Prev. (see also special subjects, as health, public supervision, etc.)
in Nat. Conf. Char. and Cor. 1, 4
through pub. superv. 189
Principle, fundamental, of compensation for indus. diseases 264
Principles (see also platform, programs)
of boards of welfare 213
of good system of workmen's compensation 255
of pub. superv. and admin. 190 fol.
Pris. (see also delinquency)
Pris., abolition of stripes 119
compensation of 118, 119
discharged 131
Disscussion (Sonsteby) 136
Farm in Ore., 117
forty years of progress 132
grading 131
labor, *The Honor System of Prison Labor* (Trumbull) paper 116
made goods 116
Refor. Congress, the first 131
early 131
The Prison of the Twentieth Century (Byers) paper 129
Wrongful imprisonment 131, 133
Private char., co-operation with pub. 189
Prob., adult in Mass., ref. 121
Adult Probation and Parole in New York State (Wade) paper 120
and parole, movement to co-ordinate 128
officers, efficient 122
of juv. abuses of 330
statistics N. Y. state 125
system, principles 126
Professionalism typified by Balaam 14
Program at Seattle (see minutes)
Program for the socialized church 144
Programs(see also platforms, principles)
Programs for community rehabilitation 374
Prohibition (see also inebriety, liquor)
Psychological examination of juv. court cases 324
Public Charities and Corrections in Washington (Reed) 194
Pub. char., co-operation with private 189
Health (see health)
and research, com. in Cleveland 114
regarding char. and cor. insts. 191, 206
opinion and child welfare exhibit 315
opinion and the church 145
opinion devel. by central authority 191
Pub. superv. and admin., board of control in Wash. 265
Public Supervision and Administration (Cross) com. rep. 183
Pub. superv. and admin., new fields 187
of char. and cor. (see also city, county, state, U. S.)
tendency for state to care for special classes 210
unanimous agreement of com. 183
unsolved problems 188
need of special in Wash. 204
Punishment of pris. 131

R

Rauschenbusch, Prof Walter, crit. 156
Recreation and comrl. org. 78
and imgt. 64
and soc. justice 9
floating baths in N. Y., 171
superv. by Kansas City Board of Pub. Welfare 216
Reed, Mrs. Anna Y., Ph. D., paper 194
Refor. of pris. 130
religious basis 135
Reformatory, reform schools (see also prisons)
Registration, confidential bureau for char. cases 219
of births 173

of cases demanded in Louisville 378
Rehab., family (see also case)
Case Work Disciplines and Ideals (Mrs. John Glenn) paper 353
of families requires trained workers 378
Relief (see also charity, dependency, outdoor relief, poverty, rehabilitation)
Religion and refor. 131, 135
immortality, idea of 21
soc. functions of 20
Religious (see also church, moral)
character of soc. work 379
Reports of insts. 190
R. I. birth registration 177
Richmond, Miss Mary E., quot. 344
Road work by convicts 118
Roberts, Peter, ref. 30
Robinson, George B., introduced 397
Rules of Procedure 409; amended 400
Rural devel. by comrl. orgs. 81
exodus 343
need of work for chil. 295
rel. of comrl. orgs. 92
road work by convicts 118
stability of pop. 93
Russell Sage Foundation, C. O. S. Dept. ref. 354
Dept. Surveys and Exhibits, origin of 351
Ryan, Rev. John A., address 156
com. rep. 222
introduced 398

S

Salaries of C. O. S. workers 381
Sanitation (see also health and medical)
municipal and Cleveland Chamber of Commerce 87
recent devel. 348
Schools (see also education)
for juv. del. in Wash. State 197
of crime 129
Seattle, pop. and soc. needs 388
preparation for Seattle meeting of Nat. Conf. 385 fol.
Sentences, indeterminate 131
short useless 131
Sermon, the Conference 14
Sessions, F. J., paper 287
Sex hygiene (see also vice)
Skeel, E. L., address for Rotary Club 386
Slingerland, W. H., paper 295
Soc. centers (see also community)
needed in country 299
justice 1, 16
and char. 214
and pub. health 173
beginnings 4
Social Justice (Tucker) address 1
service and business 91
Comn. of Prot. Churches, quot. 17
agencies of 147
definition 140
of the church 138 fol.
surveys (see surveys)
welfare and Cleveland Chamber of Commerce 86
and comrl. orgs. 73
workers' need of in rural communities 297, 301
Sociology in theological seminaries 144
Songs, soc. service, used at Seattle 387
Sonsteby, John J., disc. 136
Speakers at Seattle: see minutes 385 fol.
Standardization of char. orgs. 100, 106
of types of dep., def. and del. and treatment 188
Standard of living, search for 4
Standards in char. endorsement 106
of living among imgt. 28
Standards of Living and Labor (Ryan) com. rep. 222
State (see also public supervision and administration)
aid in child savings 307
Board of Char. and Cor. in Calif. in relation to chil 307
boards of char. and cor. functions 184 fol.
char. endorsement 104
comrl. orgs. 98
control of pris. 131
"interstate convicts" 119
use plan, ref. 137
Statistical system of Federal Chil. Bureau 318
Statistics (see also special subjects)
birth registration 176
compiled by city govt. 220
of birth in Seattle 181
of child saving in Calif. 306 fol.
of compensation for indus. diseases in Eng., 268 fol.

of factory insp. in Kansas City 217
of free employment bureau of Kansas City 217
of hous. insp. in Kansas City 217
of imgt. 42
of indus. dieseases in N. Y. 271
of indus. employments 364
of inf. mort. N. Y. 172
of parole in Kansas City 215
of pop. in U. S. 363
of prob. and parole in N. Y. 121
of soc. agencies in Chicago 342
of tbc. 170
of vocabularies of chil. 349
showing soc. possibilities of West 389
Stewart, Henry, paper 100
Stillman, Charles C., disc. 379
Strikes and co-operation 40
Strong, Miss Anna Louise, paper 311
Rev. Sidney, address for com. on entertainment 385
Superv. meaning of term 191
Survey of donations in Cleveland 112
Surveys and C. O. S. work 372
methods used 352
The Development of Social Surveys (Harrison) paper 345
Swiss workmen's compensation act, quot. 261
Syracuse railway problem 347

T

Tariff and imgt. 33
Taxation in Pittsburgh 347
Taylor, Graham, com. rep. 26
introduced 392
speech as incoming President 403
Thrift and family efficiency 366
Thurston, Henry W., presiding officer 392
Town govt. and birth registration 179
Trades and imgt. 46
Training (see also vocational)
Trng. C. O. S. workers 377
executive ability needed 382
in soc. work in churches 144
of soc. workers for C. O. S. work 371
schools started 3
Transportation and soc. justice 11
Trumbull, Miss Grace, paper 95
Mrs. Millie R., paper 116
Tucker, Frank, address 1
speech as retiring President 402
Types of dep. def., and del, standardization of 188

U

Unemployment (see also industry, labor)
and inefficiency 235
work rooms in London 242
U. S. board of char. and cor. suggested 183
Bureau of Imgt. ref. 32
Chil. Bureau descr. 317
Imgt. Comn., ref. 31
Urban (see also city)
inefficiency of trng. for chil. 302
occupations 272
Utah, minimum wage law 230

V

Vacant lot gardening in Kansas City 217
Vice (see also sex hygiene)
and duty of church 143
and imgt. 35, 38
Vocabularies of chil. statistics 349
Vocational (see also training)
mistakes of insts. 290
trng. and soc. welfare 350
in insts. *Discussion* (Porter) 293
Vocational Training in Institutions (Sessions) paper 287
work in insts. for chil. 285

W

Wade, Frank E., paper 120
Wage (see also labor, minimum)
insufficient 18
living 7
low, and child labor 247
Wage standards and race improvement 246
Ware, Eugene, quot. 21
Washerwoman, Eugene Ware, quot. 22
Wash., *Address* (Gov. Lister) 205
birth registration 177
compulsory insurance law 252
descr. of pub. char. and cor. 194
minimum wage 232
workmen's compensation 272
Welfare (see social welfare)
Welfare, boards of pub. (see city)
West (see also Pacific Coast)
advice as to prev. org. 194
West, Gov. Oswald, represented by Mrs. Trumbull 116
Wheeler, Benjamin Ide, quot. 43

Widows pensions (see pensions)
Wiley, Dr., ref. 161
Williams, E. M., papers 84, 111
Wilson, Pres., and comrl. orgs. 74
Wines, F. H., quot. 25
Winslow, Prof., quot. 161
Wis. minimum wage 230
Women's clubs and imgt. 66
Wood, Arthur E., paper 234
Work, hours and cond., reasonable 7
Workmen's compensation, court decisions, 251, 253
principles 255
principles popular 262
Workmen's Compensation versus Insurance against Accident (Gilbert) paper 248

Y

Young, C. O., quot. 71, 72
Y. M. C. A. and Imgt. 64

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